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Charles Le Brunr's Expressions for the Glory of the King: The Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix at the Chateau de Versailles

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***Charles Le Brun's Expressions for the Glory of the King:
The Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix at the Château de Versailles***

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College of Creative Arts
at West Virginia University
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in
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ABSTRACT

Le Brun's Expressions for the Glory of the King: The Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix at the Château de Versailles

Amy Swan

As one of the founders of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1648, and Chief Painter to the King, Charles Le Brun was an influential artist and theorist of his time. One can argue his greatest success was his contribution at the Château de Versailles, a glittering palace built under the direction of Louis XIV. The Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix (1685-86) were the last projects he completed at Versailles. The Salon de la Guerre celebrates France's contemporary military victories. Le Brun decorated the ceiling the Salon de la Paix with images of the peace given to Europe by France. This thesis argues that the figures in the salons can be understood by applying Le Brun's concept of Expression, about which he lectured in his *Conférence sur l'Expression* (ca. 1668) at the Royal Academy. Le Brun used his concept of Expressions in the salons to portray the figures with individual Expressions. By using the Expressions in the Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix, Le Brun demonstrated the splendor France and Europe achieved under the absolute monarchy. Nicolas Poussin's Musical Modes and René Descartes *Passions of the Soul* influenced Le Brun while he was creating his own Expressions. Le Brun and his *Conference* as a whole are under-studied. There is no clear evidence of where, when, and why he used his Expressions. This examination of the salons proves Le Brun used his Expressions throughout his career to glorify the King.

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It is very hard for me to believe how fast time has flown by while working on this thesis. It seems like yesterday I was reading Le Brun's *Conférence sur l'Expression* for the first time. This project, while enjoyable to write, it was also quite a challenge for me, and I would like to take the time to thank my Committee members for their support and guidance: Dr. Snyder for her editing skills, Dr. Slaven for his expertise, and Dr. Reymond, my chair, for the countless hours spent in discussion in her office. I cannot thank you all enough for the time you spent working with me.

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INTRODUCTION

The Château de Versailles is an attraction for tourists from all over the world. The hall's chambers ricochet with voices streaming from audio guides, directions from guards, and gasps from tourists when they see the splendors of gold in the Château de Versailles. The *Roi-Soleil*, or Sun King, King Louis XIV, who ruled from 1643-1715, situated the royal court in Versailles in 1682, and it remained the seat of power in France until 1789. Louis XIV moved his royal chamber to the center of the palace near the Grande Galerie, known today as the Galerie des Glaces (Hall of Mirrors) constructed from 1678-1684. The Salon de la Guerre (Salon of War) and the Salon de la Paix (Salon of Peace) flank the Galerie des Glaces, making, I suggest, a Suite of Power. The Salon de la Guerre is on the west of the Galerie des Glaces and the Salon de la Paix, is sited immediately to the east of the Galerie des Glaces. These two salons may be small in floor area, but their ceilings are monumental in the pronouncement they make. Painted by Charles Le Brun (1619-1690), the ceiling paintings in the salons display a statement about the King's glory through Le Brun's allegorical figures and his application of the Expressions he devised. His Expressions were a formula he designed for appropriate facial expressions that conveyed meaning in painting. The paintings in the salons are enveloped in gilded frames and sculpture, and the walls are covered in colorful exotic marble. A large crystal chandelier hangs in the center of each room and the crystals' reflections change colors with every step one makes. The chandelier pulls one's eye up to the painted ceiling. The ceiling paintings display panels of significant battles and the wars of a warrior king. The Salon de la Paix is composed in the same manner as the the Salon de la Guerre, although instead of the glory of battle, this room is dedicated to the celebration of peace. These rooms are stunning examples of Louis XIV's display of his power through decoration of his palace.

As one of the founders of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1648, Charles Le Brun was an influential artist and theorist of his time. Moreover, beginning in 1660 when Le Brun became decorator of the Château de Versailles and Chief Painter to the King, he was among the most influential, or perhaps the most influential, artists and theorists in France. One can argue his greatest success was his contribution to the Château de Versailles. The Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix (1685-86) were the last projects he completed at Versailles.¹ While the Salon de la Guerre celebrates France's contemporary military victories, Le Brun decorated the ceiling of the Salon de la Paix with images of the peace given to Europe by France.² Without a doubt, as ensembles the salons glorify the monarchy of France. By using the Expressions in the Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix, Le Brun demonstrated the splendor France and Europe achieved under the absolute monarchy. The palace is structured and organized around what I call the Suite of Power, the Salon de la Guerre, the Galerie des Glaces, and the Salon de la Paix. Visitors to the palace hoping to meet with the King processed through these rooms and saw Le Brun's Expressions used to highlight the King's glory.³

This thesis argues that the figures in the ceiling and lunette paintings in the salons can be deciphered by applying Le Brun's *Physiognomies*, formulas for facial expressions, which he lectured about in his *Conférence Sur l'Expression* (ca. 1668) at the Academy. Le Brun used his Expressions as a device in the salons to portray the figures with passion through Expression, and each personification was depicted with a specific expression, as described in his *Conference*. The Expressions in this sense are a formula established by Le Brun in the *Conference*. This

¹ The themes of peace and war can be seen throughout Versailles, for instance, in the statues at the main iron gateway. Le Brun also used the themes of peace and war in the Galerie des Glaces. Pierre Lemoine, *Versailles and Trianon: Guide to the Museum and National Domain of Versailles and Trianon* (Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 2002), 26.

³ Whenever a foreign ambassador was received the silver throne was placed in front of the entrance of the Salon de la Paix, which will be discussed in Chapter II. Ibid., 54.

convention was created through the inspiration of the Musical Modes of Nicolas Poussin (1594-1664) and the *Passions of the Soul* by René Descartes (1596-1650). Poussin's Musical Modes were based on a system established by the ancient Greeks to add emotion and/or mood to a work of art. Descartes had written of the Modes in his *Compendium of Music* and wrote of expression as well in his *Passions of the Soul*. Le Brun used this work as a guide to model his own Expressions, but Le Brun's use of the Expressions was unique to him.

Le Brun and his *Conference* as a whole are understudied. Although there is no scholarly consensus over where, when, and why he used his Expressions, this examination of the salons demonstrates that Le Brun used his Expressions throughout his career as Chief Painter to the King from 1662-1683. Le Brun's purpose in the *Conference* was to teach the younger generation of artists how to paint with appropriate Expression to produce a specific reaction in the viewer. Louis Marchesano and Christian Michel write, "Le Brun's belief is clear: bring glory to France by surpassing his predecessors and providing a new paradigm for artists to imitate."⁴ Le Brun's efforts were not always appreciated by the next generation of artists. By 1680 many young artists found his teachings outdated. Although, Le Brun was still painting with his Expressions some contemporary scholars described his Expressions as being sterile.⁵

The use of emotion was part of the French "style" of painting, introduced by Poussin. He was an artist known for stressing the importance of emotion in painting. Moreover, because Poussin's use of emotion followed the "national spirit" of French painting, Expression was

⁴ Louis Marchesano and Christian Michel. *Printing the grand manner: Charles Le Brun and monumental prints in the age of Louis XIV*, (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010), 22.

⁵ Benjamin Tilghman, "Charles Le Brun, Theory, Philosophy and Irony," In *Reflections on Aesthetic Judgement and Other Essays* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 83.

studied in the Academy.⁶ The “national spirit” of French painting supported and promoted the absolutist state.⁷ The use of Cartesian concepts of Expression supported this stylistic use of Expression in France. It was appropriate that Le Brun used his Expressions in the Château de Versailles, as what better way to glorify the King was there then to paint in the “national spirit?”⁸

As an artist and theorist, Le Brun’s work is relatively understudied. In the past century there has been some interest in Le Brun among scholars, but the scholarship is limited. Michael Gareau was part of the Le Brun project and he spent over three decades studying Le Brun.⁹ Gareau first published the book *Charles Le Brun First Painter to the King Louis XIV* in 1992. The book offers a comprehensive list of Le Brun’s easel paintings, but does not include his work at the Château de Versailles. Another scholar to write extensively on Le Brun is Nicolas Milovanovic, a curator at the Château de Versailles. What makes Milovanovic different from other scholars is that he discussed Le Brun’s Expressions and argues that Le Brun used the Expressions in the Galerie des Glaces. He does not address the use of Expression in the Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix. Milovanovic has not explained the motive for using Expression. I will argue Le Brun’s interest in Expression came from Poussin and Descartes and Le Brun used Expression to glorify the King.

To study the paintings in the salons it is also important to understand how the salons functioned in the plan of the palace. The salons are significant in the Château de Versailles as they stand in pivotal corners of the Suite of Power. The salons are the beginning of the King’s

⁶ Ibid., 86.

⁷ Claire Goldstein, *Vaux and Versailles: The Appropriations, Treasures, and Accidents that Made Modern France* (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 80.

⁸ Tilghman, 86.

⁹ For more information about the Le Brun project see http://www.charleslebrun.com/site_anglais/lebrun_project_english.htm.

and Queen's apartments. The King's apartment side, the north side encompasses the Salon de la Guerre, while the Queen's apartments, on the south side includes the Salon de la Paix. This creates a gendering of the spaces, between the feminine side with the theme of peace, and the masculine side with the theme of war. To understand this idea of gender and space I studied Doreen B. Massey's book *Space, Place, and Gender*, which provided me with a foundation to support my argument for the gendering of the salons.

While studying the influence of Poussin on Le Brun, I examined how music and painting correlate in order to understand the Musical Modes. Joseph C. Allard's article "Mechanism, Music, and Painting in 17th Century France" was monumental in fueling the idea for this thesis. While the article does not discuss Le Brun at length, it introduced the ideas of the Musical Modes and Poussin to my research. Another work that helped my understanding of Poussin's goal of depicting emotion in painting was David Freedberg's article "Composition and Emotion," which further served to codify how Poussin specifically influenced Le Brun's Expressions.

Because Poussin did not leave much writings on his use of the Modes, there were not many sources available in his own voice this. However, was not true for my study of Descartes. Descartes published copiously during his lifetime, and some of his works were even published posthumously. As well as studying Descartes' writings in the original French, I also read the rich translations of his work for the informative introductions and citations. The sources I used are *Compendium of Music*, 1961, translated by Walter Robert, and *Passions of the Soul*, 1989, translated by Stephen Voss.

To approach a greater understanding of who Louis XIV was as a ruler and as a man I read John B. Wolf's biography *Louis XIV*. It is arguably the most comprehensive biography on Louis XIV. This source was beneficial in that it provided background and fascinating information on

Louis XIV's life. Because the paintings I am studying in the salons deal with the themes of war and peace I needed to understand Louis' involvement in war. John A Lynn's book *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1667-1714*, provided this foundation and was quite beneficial in that it covered the wars Le Brun depicted on the ceilings in the salons.

While many scholars write about Louis XIV few scholars write about the work of Le Brun. Jennifer Montagu writes with a focus on Le Brun's Expressions. Montagu is known for her diverse work in the Baroque period. She reworked her dissertation, which concentrated on Le Brun, into a full book.¹⁰ Her work in this book is so broad that it does not cover the topic I will discuss. However, Montagu points out that even as early as the 1650s Le Brun's Expressions and gestures can be recognized as "impressions" and "attributes" of certain Expressions.¹¹ In this thesis, I will take this further and argue he was using the Expressions throughout his career, and in fact until the end of his career. Montagu does not discuss the use of the Expressions in Le Brun's work at the Château de Versailles.

During the time Le Brun was creating his Expressions, the representation of facial expression was the subject of debate at the Academy. One of the goals of the Academy, when it was founded in 1648, was to establish itself as promoting visual art as a liberal art.¹² Theorists gathered around the court of the Château de Versailles and began to reduce art to a formula, a

¹⁰ Montagu's book is titled: *The Expression of the Passion: The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence, l'Expression Générale Et Particulière*. There was an interest amongst scholars in Le Brun in the 1950s, around the time Montagu was working on her dissertation, but there has been little published on Le Brun and his Expressions since.

¹¹ Jennifer Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions: The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence Sur l'Expression Générale Et Particulière* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 38.

¹² Montagu, "The Expression of the Passions," 68.

new concept in visual art.¹³ Expression was not necessary in academic history painting, argued Montagu, though Le Brun would argue it was necessary in all painting.¹⁴ Le Brun's use of allegory to glorify the King changed the genre of history painting.¹⁵ Expression was a popular topic in the arts in general in the seventeenth century. For instance, books described how to be expressive in voice and on stage, in terms of emotions that are comparable to Le Brun's Expressions, such as sorrow and joy. Montagu argues the shift towards Expression is evocative of changing ideas. The artist was to depict the "soul" rather than the "body," as seen in Le Brun's painting *The Penitent Magdalen* (Figure 1).¹⁶

Montagu discusses Le Brun's use of Expression; however what she neglects to do is to confirm the use of Expression in the Galerie des Glaces, the Salon de la Guerre, and the Salon de la Paix. Moreover, she does not clarify if Le Brun used Expression only on specific paintings or in all of his paintings. The latter, I argue, is precisely what Le Brun did. Expression is a stimulating characteristic of Le Brun's compositions. My contribution to the scholarship of Le Brun's Expressions is the detailed study of his use of Expression of the Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix in the Château de Versailles. Also my study focuses on individual figures in those paintings as it creates an analysis of how and why Le Brun made the choices he did for the composition of the salon ceiling paintings. The composition is ordered symmetrically in each salon for the viewer to easily follow the story. These works demonstrate how a painting can be read. The viewer's eye moves around the work interpreting each figure. Moreover, the paintings

¹³ Brewster Rogerson, "The Art of Painting the Passions." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 14, no. 1 (1953): 68-94. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2707496> (accessed July 10, 2013), 70.

¹⁴ Montagu, "*The Expression of the Passions*," 49.

¹⁵ Marchesano and Michel, 30.

¹⁶ Montagu, "*The Expression of the Passions*," 62.

can be easily read by the viewer, partially due to the exaggerated Expressions and gestures of the figures in the salons.

The Penitent Magdalen (Figure 1) is probably from the 1660s, or right around the time of the *Conference*. Jennifer Montagu enlightens, the composition “...with the emphasis set unambiguously on her face, provides the most deliberate and possibly the most famous of Le Brun’s studies of expression.”¹⁷ With the focus on Expression Le Brun painted the soul of Mary Magdalen with the Expression of *Veneration* (Figure 26). By 1660, Le Brun, as a well-known court painter, was summoned by King Louis XIV to paint *The Queen of Persia at the Feet of Alexander* (Figure 2).¹⁸ This work uses some of the same Expressions Le Brun described in his *Conference*, such as *Desire*, *Sorrow*, and *Fear*. *The Queen of Persia at the Feet of Alexander* is suggestive of Poussin’s teachings, in that it uses the ideals of classicism to evoke unity in time, space, and action. The painting is cohesive in composition and balanced with the use of Expression.¹⁹

The ceilings of the salons are key paintings in Le Brun’s career in that these compositions transformed him from a craftsman who painted under the King to an artist that worked for the King. Le Brun dedicated himself to establishing and promoting the King of France.²⁰ He would depict the splendor and glory of the King; understanding how he used Expression provides the key to unlock what he conveyed through his paintings while he worked for the king.

Le Brun is an artist with an extensive body of work, and as chief painter to the king and

¹⁷ Ibid., 38-39.

¹⁸ Ibid., 42.

¹⁹ Ibid., 42.

²⁰ Ibid., 43.

decorator of the Château de Versailles, he has left much work to be studied. This thesis will analyze the two ceiling paintings, which were late in his career and are powerful in their own right. In Chapter I, I will offer a brief iconographical analysis of what is on the ceilings of the Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix. Moving into Chapter II, I will analyze how the salons function in the palace and their important placement in the Suite of Power. Chapter III will discuss Poussin's introduction of the Musical Modes, and how this foundation influenced Le Brun's conception of his Expressions. Similarly, Chapter IV will investigate how Descartes' writings served as to influence to Le Brun's Expressions. Since the Expressions were in glorification of the King Chapter, V will explore how Le Brun used the Expressions as a tool for promotion of the King. As an introduction to the concluding Chapter VI provides further background on Le Brun's Expressions and the *Conference*. As a conclusion Chapter VII will analyze the specific use of Expression on individual figures in each salon. Each chapter builds to the conclusion that Le Brun made the conscious decision to use his Expressions in promotion of the King and that his Expressions are successful because they themselves serve as a form of allegory.

CHAPTER I: ICONOGRAPHY

Pierre Rainssant's *Explication des tableaux de la galerie de Versailles et de ses deux salons Versailles*, was written and published in 1687, merely a year after the salons were finished. This interpretive guide was offered to visitors to the Château de Versailles. Rainssant's guide, published in 1687, replaced a previous guide by François Charpentier (1620-1702).²¹ It is thought that Le Brun used Jean Baudoin's 1643 manual on iconography titled *Iconologie ou explication nouvelle de plusieurs images, emblèmes, autres figures hiéroglyphiques des Vertus, des Vices, des Arts, des Sciences, des Causes naturelles, des Humeurs différentes et des Passions humaines*. The Expressions work with the iconography of the compositions of the ceiling paintings in the Salon de la Paix and the Salon de la Guerre to fully promote and glorify the King.

Rainssant first analyzes the Salon de la Guerre itself. This examination sets the stage for the power of war. For example, he writes, "There are four major trophies of gold metal on the doors, below which masks and festoons represent the four different seasons of the year to show that the king went to war at any time."²² The paintings in the Salon de la Guerre are as follows: *La France foudroyant ses ennemis* (center) (Figure 3), *L'Espagne défaite* (Figure 4), *L'Allemagne défaite* (Figure 5), *La Hollande défaite* (Figure 6), and *Bellone en fureur* (Figure 7).

La France foudroyant ses ennemis (Figure 3) is painted in the center of the domed ceiling. This composition is balanced in the center of a circle-shaped frame. As France flies in on a cloud she holds a dual-ended flame, in her right hand, from which lightning bolts are emitted to regions below. In her left hand she grasps a shield close to her body that depicts a bust of the King, who

²¹ Béatrix Saule, "The Hall of Mirrors During Louis XIV's Reign: From the Ordinary to the Extraordinary," In *The Hall of Mirrors: History & Restoration*, (Dijon: Éditions Faton, 2007), 56.

²² Pierre Rainssant, *Explication des tableaux de la galerie de Versailles et de ses deux salons Versailles*, 1687. *Versailles, la galerie des Glaces*. <http://www.galeriedesglaces-versailles.fr/html/11/outils/rainssant.html> (accessed September 20, 2013), 94. Translated by author.

gazes down on the viewer. "France is painted on a cloud, holding in one hand the lightning and the other a shield on which is the image of the king, to show him victorious over his enemies and makes the cover of their efforts," Rainssant describes.²³ The lightning is directed towards allegories of Spain, Germany, and Holland, which are painted in the lunettes surrounding this painting. Encircling the allegory of France are allegories of the victory in the battles of the Sinzheim Bridge (Figure 8), Strasbourg (Figure 9), Luxembourg (Figure 10), and Fribourg (Figure 11).²⁴ The victories are portrayed around the perimeter of the dome (Figure 3). As Le Brun placed them in the composition, these personifications of the victories engage directly with the viewer standing on the floor. The figure of France is well above the viewer and any other figure depicted. The dome of the center painting is bordered by the lunettes of the other paintings in the Salon.

L'Espagne défaite (Figure 4) depicts the allegory of Spain raising a sword towards the allegory of France. Spain wears a feathered headdress, which is a reference to its American

²³ Rainssant, 95-96. Translated by author.

²⁴ Nicolas Milovanovic explains the symbolism of each victory in his *la galerie des Glaces, catalogue iconographique*, "Those three victories are winged and crowned with laurel. They are tables illustrating the battle of Sinzheim and the decision of Fribourg (the third door only armor). The Battle of Sinzheim was won by Marshal Turenne on the imperial troops June 16, 1674, the city of Freiburg was taken by Marshal Créquy November 16, 1677. The next set of Victories portray Strasbourg, "Three crowned winged Victories bay, one holding fins, fly around a table showing the Marshal Turenne forcing the imperial troops to retake the bridge Strasbourg with the inscription: "Allemans hunt beyond the Rhine." Victory left waving the banner of Brandenburg (or "Prince of Orange" according to the *Mercure galant*, April 1687) taken from the enemy." The third set of Victories represent the taking of Luxembourg, "Three Victories are taking Luxembourg by Marshal Créquy June 3, 1684. One of the victories is the shield of the city and a mural crown, the other green banner of Lorraine, the last holds a laurel wreath." The last set of Victories portray the battle of Lichtenberg, "Three Victories are taking Lichtenberg (shown in a table, the *Mercure galant* of April 1687 cites "making Schelestadt", that is to say, Clisson) by French troops commanded by Marshal Créquy in 1678. One of them is the shield of the city of Strasbourg, which came under French rule in 1681, the olive branch she holds in her hand means that the city was attached to the kingdom of France peacefully, becoming the capital of the province of Alsace. Weapons and armor are with her in the foreground. Nicolas Milovanovic, "la galerie des Glaces, catalogue iconographique, catalogues des collections." Château de Versailles, la galerie des Glaces, catalogue iconographique. <http://www.galeriedesglaces-versailles.fr/html/11/accueil/index.html> (accessed April 13, 2013).

colonies.²⁵ She holds a lance that is pointed towards the allegory of France, in the center dome. Appearing from behind Spain is a ferocious lion ready with its front paws raised to pounce in excitement. With these figures Le Brun created a layering of action and interest in this composition. Peeking out from under the lion are soldiers carrying “[s]everal banners of different colors which express various powers rescued by Spain, and to mark the resistance offered by some of its strongholds, has been placed on the front of a mortar and distant fortresses that make fire from all sides,” according to Rainssant’s description of the action of the scene.²⁶ To the left, Spanish soldiers look towards the sky, and watch the lightning coming down from France. One soldier, to the left of Spain, has his back turned to the viewer. His body creates a sharp diagonal, which continues with his arm raised over his head. In the far left corner there is a dead soldier in the immediate foreground. His body, as it is slumped on the ground, appears like a black scar in the composition. The dark colors of his armor makes it difficult to distinguish his figure. His body marks the defeat of Spain.

The allegory of Germany defensively holds a shield in cover against France’s lightning bolt in *L’Allemagne défaite* (Figure 5). She is wearing Roman armor as a reference to the Holy Roman Empire.²⁷ The armor accentuates her breasts and defines her figure; however, this emphasis on her breasts does not make her feminine. In her right hand she holds a sword parallel to her left arm. Her left arm, raised above her head holding her shield in the sky, is strong and defined with muscles and tendons. The dramatic diagonal of her raised arm leads the viewer’s eye towards the receding line of soldiers and then down the right side of the composition. These

²⁵ Milovanovic, "la galerie des Glaces, catalogue iconographique, catalogues des collections."

²⁶ Rainssant, 101. Translated by author.

²⁷ Milovanovic, "la galerie des Glaces, catalogue iconographique, catalogues des collections."

Germans are defeated, weak, and limited in number. One soldier lies face down while only the legs of another can be seen. Though these distant soldiers are lifeless, one soldier continues to fight: the soldier closest to Germany is still alert and thrusting his spear towards France. The soldiers on the left of Germany are sounding their trumpets and raising their flags against France. Of these soldiers, one carries a flag that is rippling in the breeze and depicts a two-headed eagle. Symbolically this eagle is a call for more troops.²⁸

Like Spain, Holland in *La Hollande défaite* (Figure 6) also defends herself with a shield against France.²⁹ This allegory's figure, with a raised shield, holds the same position as the allegory of Spain. In her other hand she grasps several arrows. Crouched under Holland, similar to *L'Allemagne défaite*, is a lion. The lion supports the body of Holland as Holland also serves to protect the lion with her body. The background depicts the maritime history of Holland with the masts of a ship being released as they blow in the wind on the left side.³⁰ The bow of the ship is prominent in the composition as it sails behind the allegory of Holland. On the right side of the composition is a blazing fire that spews black smoke into the background. In front of the fire is a soldier with his sword drawn. This is noteworthy because Le Brun does not often depict soldiers in such violent movement. Though the face of this soldier cannot be seen, his bent arm grasps a sword, so the viewer can sense the power of the movement of his sword towards the sky, towards France. The left side depicts a sinking ship losing cargo from its decks. Rainssant wrote that the depiction of these ships showed, "the deplorable state in which Holland was reduced during the

²⁸ Milovanovic, "la galerie des Glaces, catalogue iconographique, catalogues des collections."

²⁹ Holland was a one of the United Provinces and an Allied Power that France fought in the War of Holland from 1672-1678. This war was ending as construction was beginning on the Galerie des Glaces.

³⁰ Milovanovic, "la galerie des Glaces, catalogue iconographique, catalogues des collections."

war.”³¹ The soldiers on the deck are fighting to save their ship with their swords and lances raised in defense.

Bellone en fureur (Figure 7) differs from the other lunette compositions. Rather than depicting a European country, this painting depicts not a specific country, or power, but rather is a classical reference to a powerful god. Bellone is the Roman goddess of war, often identified as the wife of Mars. The painting shows the negative effects of war. A dark atmosphere is established since the background is engulfed in smoke. While the other paintings in the room depict soldiers and people of each country, this painting depicts many specific allegorical references. For instance, Discord is to the left of Bellone, with his back turned to the viewer as he carries two burning torches to set fire to the classical architecture in the background. The allegory of Charity is to the left of Discord. She is wrapped in white, holding a young child, and looks toward Discord with a purposeful stare. Rebellion is placed in the far right hand corner of the painting. He wears the traditional hat of Rebellion, which is always adorned with a cat.³² He thrusts a spear with much force up towards the sky. Between Rebellion and Bellone are two horses that are pulling Bellone’s chariot. These horses are fierce and can be read as also representing warriors.

At the opposite end of the Galerie des Glaces is the Salon de la Paix. The salon’s paintings correspond to those in the Salon de la Guerre. They are titled: *La France donne la paix à l'Europe* (Figure 12), *L'Espagne accepte la paix* (Figure 13), *L'Allemagne accepte la paix* (Figure 14), *La Hollande accepte la paix*, (Figure 15), and *L'Europe chrétienne en paix* (Figure 16). The center of the Salon de la Paix, *La France donne la paix à l'Europe* (Figure 12), also

³¹ Rainssant, 105. Translated by author.

³² Nicolas Milovanovic, "la galerie des Glaces, catalogue iconographique, catalogues des collections."

depicts an allegory of France, but here she is riding in a chariot driven by doves in the clouds.³³ The doves symbolize important marriages in the history of France after the treaty of Nijmegen. Each marriage marks the restoration of peace in Europe, peace brought to Europe through France.³⁴ Below France *putti* are giving olive branches to the allegories of Holland, Spain, and Germany. Peace is represented to the left of France. France extends a staff towards Peace. Peace wears a laurel wreath and holds a caduceus in her right hand. This painting, like *Bellone en fureur*, is rich in allegorical representations which include: Peace, Abundance, Glory, Hymen, Three Graces, Public Joy, Love of Pleasure, Magnificence, Innocence, Religion, Heresy, Discord, Envy, and Concord. Everything about *La France donne la paix à l'Europe* is lighter in color and theme compared to *La France foudroyant ses ennemis*.

Spain was one of the opposing Allied Powers that fought against France in the War of Holland (1672-1678).³⁵ In *L'Espagne accepte la paix* (Figure 9) Spain is allegorically represented as a woman with open arms receiving an olive branch from *putti* sent from above by France. Creeping out from behind Spain is the head of a lion. Unlike the lions in *Salon de la Guerre*, this lion does not appear ferocious. At the feet of Spain is a burning fire that creates light in the foreground and illuminates Spain. In the background, over the left shoulder of Spain, the people of Spain are dancing and playing music, and rejoicing over the conclusion of war. The

³³ The doves represent the “marriage of Marie-Louise d'Orleans, daughter of Monsieur, brother of Louis XIV, the king Charles II of Spain (1679) and the Dauphin, son of Louis XIV, with Christine Marie Anne Victoire of Bavaria (1680). Two other doves are painted at the bottom of the composition: they symbolize the marriage of the Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus II, with Anne-Marie d'Orléans, another daughter of Philippe d'Orleans, brother of Louis XIV (1684).” Nicolas Milovanovic, “la galerie des Glaces, catalogue iconographique, catalogues des collections.”

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

playing of instruments represents the Spaniards' love of music.³⁶ Both *putti* and mortals are playing instruments. The people in the background are setting off fireworks, and on the left *putti* are setting bonfires in celebration of the end of the war.

Germany is depicted allegorically as accepting the peace from France in *L'Allemagne accepte la paix* (Figure 10). Germany was also an Allied Power that fought against France in the War of Holland.³⁷ This painting is quite similar to *L'Espagne accepte la paix*. As Spain receives an olive branch of peace from France, Germany sits elevated above all other figures with her arms wide open to accept the olive branch from the *putti* sent by France. Two *putti* are dragging large Ottoman trophies that symbolize of the Battle of Kahlenberg (September 12 1683).³⁸ The right side of the composition portrays the victory of war with spears and shields attached to a palm tree, a symbol of victory.³⁹ On the left side of the painting is a celebration. Rainssant notes that “[o]n the other side, near the eagle of the Empire, two children bring other bodies, and the contentment of the nation is expressed by another child holding a glass full of wine, and men and women at the table who raise their cups to fanfares of trumpets and bagpipes, and the sound of artillery and fireworks.”⁴⁰ This painting presents quite a contrast when compared with *L'Allemagne défaite* in the Salon de la Guerre.

La Hollande accepte la paix (Figure 11) represents Holland, one of the United Provinces,

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Rainssant, 113-114. Translated by author.

and another Allied Power that France fought in the War of Holland.⁴¹ The allegory of Holland carries a tray above her head, while a *putto* grabs at the lion's neck while the other *putti* egg him on teasingly. Behind the *putti* is a light source that illuminates Holland, creating the focal point in the piece, which is Holland accepting the branches on the tray. On either side of Holland are parts of ships and maritime activity. The ships in this painting are not foundering like the *La Hollande défaite* in the Salon de la Guerre, but are prospering. With the restoration of the Dutch trade the ships have returned to their maritime pursuits in Holland. On the right side, *putti* are busy carrying goods to the ship and preparing it for trade. On the left, people are on their knees giving thanks for the restoration of the Dutch trade. Behind them are sailors carrying cargo onto a ship. One can see the masts and flags of the great ship billowing in the breeze.

An allegory of Christian Europe is in the center of *L'Europe chrétienne en paix* (Figure 12). She holds a cornucopia in her right hand, a symbol of the return of peace to Europe and a gift from France.⁴² The cornucopia also represents the fertile climate and rich abundant soil of France.⁴³ At her feet is a turban and Turkish crescent to represent the fall of the Ottoman threat.⁴⁴ The allegory of Piety is seated to the right of Christian Europe. She is holding her symbol, a flame, high above her head. Justice is seated to the left of Christian Europe, with her usual attributes, specifically a star above her head, which denotes her heavenly status.⁴⁵ On the left side of this painting are *putti* working on various academic artistic ventures, such as painting and

⁴² Milovanovic, "la galerie des Glaces, catalogue iconographique, catalogues des collections."

⁴³ Jean Baudoin, *Iconologie ou explication nouvelle de plusieurs images, emblèmes, autres figures hiéroglyphiques des Vertus, des Vices, des Arts, des Sciences, des Causes naturelles, des Humeurs différentes et des Passions humaines* (Paris 1643 1st edition 1636), 8-9.

⁴⁴ Milovanovic, "la galerie des Glaces, catalogue iconographique, catalogues des collections."

⁴⁵ Ibid.

sculpture, symbolizing the restoration of the arts after war. One *putto* is even carving a bust of Louis XIV. Jean Baudoin wrote in 1636 that France was a land of the arts.⁴⁶ This painting implies that the French, including Louis XIV, were proud of their artistic endeavors and Le Brun painted this pride in his allegories.

The basic composition and iconographic elements of the salon ceilings are one important layer of meaning for the analysis of the paintings, but another, deeper, layer of interpretation lies beneath this overt reading. This deeper layer of significance has remained unexplored in the scholarly literature on the salons, and is critical for a true understanding of Le Brun's intention. The salons' ceiling paintings make full use of Le Brun's Expressions, a complex formula he had established in approximately in 1668. The salons hold a significant place in the palace for this promotion, which will be discussed in the next chapter, Chapter II, The Salons: Form and Function in the Suite of Power.

⁴⁶ Jean Baudoin, "*Iconologie ou explication nouvelle de plusieurs images*," 9.

CHAPTER II: THE SALONS: FORM AND FUNCTION IN THE SUITE OF POWER

The architecture of the Château de Versailles displays the power and splendor of the King and France, and reflects Louis XIV's deep involvement in the design and function of his palace. The King sought a palace that represented himself as the ruler, and his desires as an absolute monarch. As king, Louis was so involved in the design of the Château de Versailles that Louis Marin and Anna Lehman argue that the King, in addition Louis Le Vau (1612-1670), was also an architect.⁴⁷ The architecture needed to show he was the "absolute political power."⁴⁸ The Château de Versailles was designed with an *enfilade* suite of state rooms, connecting rooms in a progressive row, that facilitate procession to the center of the château, or what this thesis argues should be conceived as a Suite of Power (Figure 17). The center of the château is the Suite of Power, and it begins with the Salon de la Guerre, continues through the Galerie des Glaces, and ends with the Salon de la Paix. This Suite of Power was designed with the intent of promoting the power of France and the glory of the King, in part through Le Brun's painted ceilings, with his Expressions. While painting in the Suite of Power, Le Brun thought of who used the space and how the space was used.

Louis XIV held his most important receptions in the Galerie des Glaces, anticipating that visitors would spread details of his and France's power all over Europe.⁴⁹ The Galerie des Glaces was designed to impress with an overabundance of splendor never before seen by those who visited the palace. The shining quality of the luxurious materials of the Galerie des Glaces, such

⁴⁷ Louis Marin and Anna Lehman, "Classical, Baroque: Versailles, or the Architecture of the Prince," *Yale French Studies* 80 (1991): 168. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2930266> (accessed March 1, 2014).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 168.

⁴⁹ Saule, 64.

as mirrors, gold, silver, and crystal demonstrated the King's splendor, power, and glory.⁵⁰ The King's apartment rooms leading to the Suite of Power show this progression of splendor culminating in the most grand of all, the Galerie des Glaces. At the times when the King did not see the ambassador as important enough to move his throne to the Galerie des Glaces he kept his throne in the Salon d'Apollon. When this was the case, the ambassadors did not experience the Suite of Power in the same way. When such an ambassador was coming to see the King he would have passed through the Salons of Venus, Diana, Mars, and Mercury before meeting the King in the Salon d'Apollon (Figure 18).⁵¹ During the time of these important receptions, in the 1680s, Le Brun was working on the ceiling paintings of the Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix.

The King's Grand Apartment was originally designed as a seven-room *enfilade* appartement de parade, or parade apartment, which was a place for Louis XIV to conduct his daily and official tasks (Figure 18). The placement of the King's Apartments evolved as construction at the Château evolved. Beginning in 1684 the King began the transition to the center of the Château. By 1701 Louis XIV had officially moved into his new bedchamber on the east side of the Galerie des Glaces (Figure 17). This space was previously his dressing room.⁵² Immediately outside of the chamber du Roi (King's Bedchamber) and to the right, towards the Salon de la Guerre, is the Cabinet du Roi, or King's Study, and the Cabinet des Termes, or Council Room (Figure 17).⁵³

⁵⁰ Saule, 62.

⁵¹ Farmer, 20.

⁵² Lemoine, 76.

⁵³ Ibid., 78.

There was always an organized separation and symmetry of the King's and Queen's wing, with the North wing being for the King, and the South wing for the Queen. The Queen's apartment is symmetrical to the King's; in they contain the same number of rooms. Although the Queen, Maria Theresa, died on July 30, 1683, during construction of the salons and throughout the Château de Versailles' working lifetime the wings never changed to reflect her absence.

Although the King moved near the center of the Galerie des Glaces, the North wing always remained part of his state apartments as well, and consequently is more masculine in its décor, than other parts of the château. For instance, the Queen's wing on the South side is feminine in accordance with the dominance of a female presence. What makes these spaces masculine and feminine are the rulers who lived in them, and this differentiation can be seen in the spaces' decoration. For instance, while the spaces are symmetrical and each wing has paintings of allegories of planets, the King's apartments depicts heroes, while the Queen's apartments portray heroines.⁵⁴ While it cannot be known for certain if Le Brun recognized the gendered spaces, it can be argued his work supports these ideas.

The Suite of Power connects the State Apartments. These salons offer the transition to these spaces. The windows that line the exterior walls of the palace link the Suite of Power to the transitional spaces, the salons, and to the State Apartments (Figure 17). There is no break in the windows from the Suite of Power to the State Apartments, thus creating a smooth transition for the processional space. Furthermore, the center domes of the salons offer more substantial support for this transition, as they draw the viewer to move around the room.

Le Brun was aware that the function of the Suite of Power and the wings were connected when he painting the salons, and he would have taken into consideration this use of the spaces.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 55.

He put the theme of war on the King's wing because the space is the beginning of the procession through the Suite of Power and war is an appropriate theme for a masculine space. The Salon de la Guerre depicts violent bolts of lightning and men with shields and armor fighting for their country. At the other end, Peace ends the Suite of Power in a more feminine way, as a resolution of war, and as an appropriate subject for the beginning of a female space. Peace is depicted with feminine pastel colors and *putti* delivering the symbol of peace. The rooms of the Suite of Power propagandize France and the King and were not only used by visitors and courtiers, but the King himself.

The King processed, according to his daily routine, several times a day through the Suite of Power, and thus the salons. It is likely that the King passed through the Salon de la Guerre more frequently than the Salon de la Paix. Once the King moved his bedchamber to the center of the Galerie des Glaces he passed through the Salon de la Guerre every morning to go to Mass. His route passed through the former Royal Apartments towards the chapel for Mass at ten each morning.⁵⁵ After Mass he would return through the Salon de la Guerre to the Galerie des Glaces where he went into his study, off of the Galerie, for council and/or audience until midday.⁵⁶ The King often ate his dinner, or midday meal, alone in his room and then returned to his study.⁵⁷ After supper, the King returned to his study for a short time before returning to his chamber to prepare for bed.⁵⁸ According to the itinerary of Louis XIV's day, it would seem the King spent much time walking through the Salon de la Guerre. While he passed though, it would, no doubt,

⁵⁵ Ibid., 43.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 43.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 48.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 51.

please him to see his war glories as painted by Le Brun. Only on rare occasions did the King ever do more than simply walk through the rooms of the Suite of Power.⁵⁹ However, the Suite of Power was not an empty quiet corridor; in fact at the time of Louis's XIV's reign, Versailles was open to the public, as a multi-purpose space.⁶⁰ The paintings in the salons were composed not only for the King but also for the congregating visitors and courtiers.

The paintings of the salons were intended to demonstrate the power and glory of Louis XIV and France to those who passed through the Suite of Power. While this thesis focuses on the Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix, the ceiling paintings in the Galerie des Glaces, all by Le Brun, are very similar in composition, subject matter, and more importantly, in the use of the Expressions. The beginning and end of the paintings in full context with the Galerie des Glaces can only be understood with the paintings of the adjacent salons.⁶¹ The Suite of Power is meant to be a full composition that tells a story, a narrative of the most powerful King and the greatest country in Europe. The hall was a place where courtiers and visitors gathered.⁶² The Suite of Power was not limited to a specific "type" of people, in fact on a daily basis people of all conditions mixed with nobility.⁶³ Sébastien Le Clerc (1637-1714) composed an engraving for the frontispiece of "Les conversations nouvelles de Mademoiselle de Scudéry," from 1684, which shows the Galerie des Glaces from just around the time Le Brun was beginning to work on the salons (Figure 19). This drawing shows many figures mingling in the hall. The image is facing

⁵⁹ Saule, 54.

⁶⁰ Those that were appropriately dressed were allowed into the Galerie des Glaces. However, monks, indecently dressed women, and people scarred by smallpox were not. Ibid., 54.

⁶¹ Nicolas Milovanovic, "The Iconographic System," 133.

⁶² Saule, 56.

⁶³ Pickpockets were an issue in the palace, especially in the Galerie des Glaces. Ibid., 56.

towards the Salon de la Guerre. Visitors are practicing their skills of etiquette and conversation as they walk through the hall, which was an appropriate custom of the time, as Saule writes, for conversation was an “institution” at the Château de Versailles.⁶⁴ In this engraving, a male figure in the immediate foreground that points above his head perhaps towards Le Brun’s paintings on the ceilings of the Galerie des Glaces. On an average day the Galerie des Glaces was a place of gathering and a way to get from one section of the palace to another, but for a special occasion it was a place for extravagant receptions of foreign ambassadors.

During the time Le Brun was beginning to work on the paintings of the salons there were two documented receptions in the Galerie des Glace. The first was for the Doge of Genoa on May 15, 1685 and the second for the Embassy of Siam on September 4, 1686. A painting of the reception for the Doge of Genoa by Claude Guy Hallé (1652-1736), illustrates the extravagance of Louis XIV’s reign. The painting depicts the King’s throne on a platform at least six stairs high (Figure 20). The King stands with his arms open and extended as he tips his hat for the foreign visitor (Figure 21). Jean Dolivar (1641-1692) composed an engraving of the King situated in the Galerie des Glace for the reception of the Ambassadors of Siam in 1686 (Figure 22). The engraving shows the King’s throne on what appears to be three risers with three sets of stairs each, which raises the throne to a height of at least nine stairs. The setting for the reception is resplendent; Dolivar has included the King’s throne surrounded by several ornamented statues and vessels. These decorations were included no doubt to show the great wealth of the King and France.

Le Brun himself documented events at the Château de Versailles. A drawing attributed to him also shows the ceremony of the reception of the Ambassador of Siam (Figure 23). This

⁶⁴ Ibid., 59.

image reveals the excitement of the moment, with the inclusion of the crowd around the throne. Moreover, by composing the stairs in the center of the image, the focal point is on the steps that led up to the King. Unlike the other images mentioned, Le Brun illustrated the King seated in his throne.

From these images it is clear that the throne is directly in front of the entrance to the Salon de la Paix. Dolivar's engraving includes the composition of *Hollande accepte la paix et se détache de l'Allemagne et de l'Espagne*, as seen above the throne. This was one of the last paintings completed in the Galerie des Glaces by Le Brun in 1678 (Figure 24). These artworks clearly place receptions in the Galerie des Glaces.⁶⁵ The King specified all the details of these types of receptions in the Galerie des Glaces.⁶⁶ The throne was raised on a dais, the height of which depended on the importance of the visitor.⁶⁷ These images articulate that the stairs leading to the King's throne varied in height.

Ambassadors arrived at the Château de Versailles through the royal courtyard and then walked through three arcades and a small vestibule to begin ascending the escalier des Ambassadeurs (Figure 25).⁶⁸ When an Ambassador was coming to see the King in the Galerie des Glaces he would enter through the escalier des Ambassadeurs, and walk through the King's apartment to process through the Salon de la Guerre then through the Galerie des Glaces to the

⁶⁵ Ibid., 64.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 64.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 64.

⁶⁸ The escalier des Ambassadeurs (1671-1680) was destroyed in 1752. The Louvre has drafted a three dimensional reconstruction of the escalier des Ambassadeurs. The reconstruction follows an Ambassador's arrival and journey through the escalier des Ambassadeurs. Musée du Louvre Multimedia Division. "Charles Le Brun's Drawings - Recreation of a Staircase at the Palace of Versailles." Louvre. <http://musee.louvre.fr/expo-imaginaire/escalierdesambassadeurs/en/> (accessed February 26, 2014).

throne at the end of the Hall.⁶⁹ The Ambassadors climbed either set of stairs, one of the sets of stairs to the right another set to the left, twenty-one steps each, to enter the State Apartments (Figure 25).⁷⁰ The Salon of Venus was the first room of the State Apartments that greeted Ambassadors at arrival.⁷¹

To approach the King, the ambassadors processed along the 250 foot long hall passing the nearly twenty windows.⁷² Their goal was to reach the King enthroned before the Salon de la Paix. By placing the throne in this particular position the King is portrayed as France embodied, while also being metaphorically Peace. Peace came to Europe as a gift from France and from the King who embodied France. Peace is produced from War. Peace came to Europe as a gift from the King, and the King was peace. Moreover, when the King was not in his throne in front of the Salon de la Paix Le Brun's allegories and Expressions stood for the King. Le Brun used allegory to establish an image of the King for the people of France and foreign visitors.⁷³

Through the salon de la Paix one can enter the Grand Appartement de la Reine, or the Queen's apartment. The Grand Appartement de la Reine starts with the chamber de la Reine, (Queen's Bedchamber), the Salon des Nobles (Nobles' Salon), and then the antichambre du Grand Couvet (Queen's Antechamber) (Figure 26).⁷⁴ The escalier de la Reine, Queen's Staircase, also called the escalier de Marbre, or Marble Staircase, stands at the opposite end of the

⁶⁹ Saule, 64.

⁷⁰ Farmer, 14.

⁷¹ Ibid., 17.

⁷² Farmer, 23.

⁷³ Robert Neuman, *Baroque and Rococo Art and Architecture* (London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd., 2013), 286.

⁷⁴ After 1710 a curtain was placed to separate the Salon de la Paix from the Galerie des Glaces. This curtain further defined the Salon de la Paix as part of the Queen's apartments to create a better connection to the Queens wing. Levron, 33.

apartment and was built in 1671(Figure 27). Louis XIV often used this staircase because it not only led to the Queen's apartment, but also the King's Private Apartments.⁷⁵ One end of the escalier de la Reine opens to the salle des Gardes (Guard Room), which accommodated the King's and Queen's bodyguards.⁷⁶

Because the Château de Versailles was constructed with the conscious decision of creating a King's wing and a Queen's wing, the space is gendered. Since both wings are connected to the Suite of Power and the wings are basically symmetrical, it allows for an appearance that the genders are equal, but separate. This use of the space proves that the genders are not equal. However, the salons serve as merged gendered spaces. When studying the architectural space of the Château de Versailles it is appropriate to turn to space and place thinkers. For instance, Doreen Massey is a geographer who studies gender in the context of space. She argues that every gendered space has a symbolic meaning.⁷⁷ For the Château de Versailles the symbolism of the King's and Queen's spaces is very prominent. The wings, north for the King and south for the Queen, are a symbol of the royalty, male and female, who lived in their rooms. The salons have a different kind of symbolism. The Salon de la Guerre symbolizes the triumphs of Louis XIV and the Salon de la Paix stands for the peace given by France and the King to Europe. The Grand Appartement du Roi, the King's apartments, end at the Suite of Power with the symbolism of war in the Salon de la Guerre. The chamber de la Reine begins after the Suite of Power with the symbolism of peace in the Salon de la Paix (Figure 17).

⁷⁵ Farmer, 33.

⁷⁶ The Guard Room is the only room in the *enfilade* that still remains in seventeenth century decoration. It was a space not often used by the Queen.

⁷⁷ Doreen B. Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 179.

Le Brun shows the symbolism of the spaces with his Expressions in his compositions. The Salon de la Guerre reflects the King as a warrior and the Salon de la Paix portrays the soft side of peace and a feminine queen. The King is not represented by an image in the Salon de la Paix, as he was depicted in the Salon de la Guerre on the shield of France. The King's image, as it is displayed in the Salon de la Guerre further emphasizes his status as a warrior king, while his presence in the Salon de la Paix is more of an allegorical presence, and is enhanced when his throne is placed in front of the entrance to the Salon de la Paix. The salons were each treated differently by Le Brun for their function in the plan of the palace.

The salons are gendered spaces, and reflect the role of the King and the Queen. Doreen Massey explains "...spaces and places are not only themselves gendered but, in their being so, they both reflect and affect in which gender is constructed and understood."⁷⁸ The gendering of the wings of the King and Queen can be seen in the decoration of each of the apartments. The King's apartments were decorated with bold colors, while the Queen's apartments were softer and floral.⁷⁹ For instance, the salon d'Apollon, the Apollo Room, originally the King's bedchamber and then transformed to the Throne Room, was decorated with crimson velvet.⁸⁰ Le Brun followed suit and gendered these spaces with his use of color in his compositions.

During the time Le Brun was working for the king, color was a contemporary issue at the Academy, and it was debated which was more important in a composition color or design. Le Brun sided with his own intellectual theory, his Expressions.⁸¹ Le Brun did not side with Peter

⁷⁸ Ibid., 179.

⁷⁹ It would not be appropriate to analyze the decorations on display currently at the Château de Versailles because the rooms have been redecorated for each ruler after Louis XIV.

⁸⁰ Lemoine, 50.

⁸¹ Michel Gareau, *Charles Le Brun: First Painter to King Louis XIV* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1992), 68.

Paul Rubens (1577-1640), who argued for color, nor did he side with Nicolas Poussin's (1594-1655), emphasis on design. Scholar V. H. Miesel explains why color was an important issue to the Academy:

French theoreticians accepted [order] and within the context of the Academy submitted it to a development of almost Cartesian rigor. Like Descartes, the Academy was convinced that it was necessary to formulate a method based upon axiomatic principles, principles that could guarantee truth with a geometric or mathematic persuasiveness.⁸²

The Academy stressed that color was an important choice for artists and should be chosen carefully to be effective. The theories of color began where the theories of the Musical Modes began, with the theories of the ancient Greeks.⁸³ Theorists and philosophers believed that when used incorrectly, color would portray nature falsely and, thus mislead the viewer's sense of reason and morals.⁸⁴ As V. H. Miesel writes, "It was not simply the immediate beauty and expressiveness of ancient art that recommended [color] for intense study but, more to the point, its embodiment of eternal principles or order."⁸⁵ There is a predominant order at Versailles in the salons: order in symmetry, order in the Expressions, and order in color.

It is in the center domes of the salons that the differences of color can really be distinguished. In the Salon de la Guerre's *La France foudroyant ses ennemis* (Figure 3) the dome is rich with the low value colors of the storm. The clouds that converge around the edge of the dome are dark with deep grey tones. The clouds blend into a violent blue stormy sky. The dome in the Salon de la Paix, *La France donne la paix à l'Europe* (Figure 12), presents a color contrast,

⁸² V. H. Miesel, "Rubens, Ancient Art, and the Critics," *Criticism* 5, no. 3 (1963): 216, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41938349> (accessed January 25, 2014).

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 216.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 219.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 216.

with its use of high value colors, and in its theme; however the composition is quite similar. There are clouds circling the center, but these clouds are abundant and fluffy to the point of resembling cotton, not violent storm ridden clouds. The background is not dark, but light and bright, with a warm yellow glow.

In accordance with the architecture of Versailles, a viewer's body moves throughout the Suite of Power in a specific procession. The viewer encounters the Salon de la Guerre, after processioning through the King's apartments, and first sees the defeat of Spain in *L'Espagne défaite* on the back wall (Figure 4). The viewer must then physically turn his or her body to continue to walk towards the Galerie des Glaces, where he or she then can look up to view *L'Allemagne défaite* (Figure 5). What is exceptional about the body's experience in the Salon de la Guerre is the possible engagement with the King's portrait on the shield of France in *La France foudroyant ses ennemis* (Figure 3). The King stares directly down towards the viewer to lock the viewer's gaze. After the Salon de la Guerre the viewer then can continue to process through the Suite of Power, through the Galerie des Glaces towards the Salon de la Paix. Upon entering this salon the viewer looks above to see *L'Allemagne accepte la paix* (Figure 14). To continue the procession through the Suite of Power, the viewer must then turn his or her body towards the Queen's apartments. This turn provides a view towards the painting *L'Europe chrétienne en paix* (Figure 16). This painting serves as a conclusion to the space because it depicts France's, and the King's, gift of peace to all of Europe. What better way to conclude the Suite of Power then promoting this gift of peace to all viewers? The organization of the paintings proves Le Brun considered the space of the Suite of Power, because he composed them with the goal of being an effective narrative as the viewer processed through the space.

Spaces in the seventeenth century were endowed with intention: they were designed for

and functioned within the specific purposes for which they had been conceived.⁸⁶ The Suite of Power was designed and decorated by Le Brun to function as the center of the palace and home of the absolute monarch. The salons, are part of the Suite of Power, serve as gendered transitional spaces into the State Apartments. The centrality of this suite made it the most appropriate location for Le Brun's conscious decisions to use his Expressions to shape the experience of visitors and residents of the palace. Le Brun's Expressions, were based on concepts derived from Poussin and Descartes. Thus, a clear understanding of Nicolas Poussin's use of emotion as a forerunner to Le Brun's Expressions, is required before embarking upon the discussion of Le Brun's work, which will be discussed in the next chapter, Chapter III.

⁸⁶ Marin and Lehman, 170.

CHAPTER III: POUSSIN AND THE MUSICAL MODES

Nicolas Poussin's (1594-1665) ideas inspired Le Brun's theories of Expression in the *Conference*. What Le Brun took from Poussin is the focus on the narrative of a painting through the emotional use of the Musical Modes and incorporated it into his own theory of Expressions. Le Brun "treated expression as the means by which pictorial narratives were driven... Le Brun developed a repertoire of unambiguous facial typologies..." write Marchesano and Michel.⁸⁷ This structure is similar to the narrative structure in music, which focuses on the listener's emotional reaction during the music. Before Poussin adapted the Musical Modes to his work, they were not commonly found in painting.⁸⁸ This structure based on music is what Poussin took into his paintings. It is this concept, of emotional reaction to the work of art/music of the Musical Modes that Le Brun then took from Poussin. It is in the Musical Modes that Le Brun's *Conference* is directly rooted in Poussin's understanding of the ancient Greek's Musical Modes.

It is most likely that Poussin introduced Le Brun to the Modes when they studied together in Rome from 1642-1646, when Le Brun was in his early twenties.⁸⁹ This profoundly impressionable period in Le Brun's career was so significant and Poussin was so influential that Le Brun continued to work in the same manner until his death in 1690. Although persuaded by Poussin to investigate the Musical Modes, Le Brun drifted away from Poussin and refocused his own work on the Expressions. With the *Conference*, Le Brun repurposed the use of the Musical Modes in his own way. Le Brun incorporated Poussin's concepts concerning the Musical Modes more thoroughly and at a more profound level than Poussin had done.

⁸⁷ Marchesano and Michel, 8.

⁸⁸ David Freedberg, "Composition and Emotion" in *The Artful Mind: Cognitive Science and the Riddle of Human Creativity*, ed. Mark Turner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 75.

Poussin believed that when the Musical Modes were used correctly, painting should provoke a specific and powerful effect on the viewer.⁹⁰ He also believed that music and painting are very similar in execution and reception. Specifically, he argued that music is harmony to the ear, while painting is harmony to the eye. Music and visual art are connected, therefore in that the reception is immediate and spontaneous. Poussin's theory of Modes dealt with the emotional quality of a work.⁹¹ Le Brun incorporated Poussin's theories of reception into his own work. For instance, in portraying the power of the King, which Le Brun needed to communicate to his audience in the salons, the viewer should be able to distinguish this glorification of the King quite quickly by interpreting the Expressions as understood by Le Brun.

Poussin's use of musical theory argued that painting must have harmony.⁹² For a painting to have harmony the parts such as setting, color, and composition, must work together, to evoke the same feeling. The Greeks used the word *tonos* to describe the "harmonious unity of hues and shades in painting, and for the tones in music ...," Pavey elaborates.⁹³ The parts of the painting must be united in a specific goal in order to secure a specific emotional response. Poussin's theory of Modes dealt with the emotional quality of a work.⁹⁴ Don Pavey argues, "[t]he emotive

⁹⁰ Music theory: analyzes music's effect on the listener's senses, passions, and emotions. There is no concrete evidence of musical theory in Poussin's modes. Ibid., 276.

⁹¹ Poussin took the musical humanist doctrine of the effects of musical modes and blended it with a theory of the passions of the soul reminiscent of Descartes's. Joseph C. Allard, "Mechanism, Music, and Painting in 17th Century France," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 40, no. 3 (Spring, 1982): 276. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/429683>.

⁹² Harmony in music is the relationship of chords. Ibid., 276.

⁹³ Pavey, 34.

⁹⁴ David Schulenberg, "Artistes in Rome: Froberger, Poussin, and the Modes of Music and Painting." Presented at the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music at Houston, 2010, 8.

emphasis in Baroque painting had its parallel in the emotionalism in music of the Baroque era.”⁹⁵

Although these theories were important to Poussin and Le Brun, not all Baroque artists incorporated the Modes and/or Expressions. However, Le Brun thought these theories important enough to be integral to his Expressions.

Harmony was important to Le Brun and can be seen in his work on many levels. In the Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix, the narrative and figures in the paintings continue, through the Galerie des Glaces, from one salon to the next because their composition is symmetrical; moreover, because Le Brun used his formula for Expression in all of his paintings, his works as whole are harmonious. The essential goal of Le Brun’s Expressions is to evoke specific responses and feelings to the viewer in the most effective way possible.

Poussin believed painting should read like a good piece of music, with a beginning, middle, and end.⁹⁶ According to Freedberg, the emotional effects and feelings from a painting are innate and are portrayed to the viewer with a universal response in mind.⁹⁷ For Le Brun’s work, this reaction arose from the ways the viewer related and responded to the figures’ Expression. According to French Baroque theory of the time viewers should respond to paintings, and to the figures in the paintings, like listeners to respond to music, in an “intuitive and spontaneous” manner.⁹⁸ The viewer should immediately experience the emotion because the Expression is so strong and accurate.

⁹⁵ Don Pavey, *Colour and Humanism*, edited by Roy Osborne (Boca Raton, Florida: Universal Publishers, 2003), 162.

⁹⁶ Allard, 271.

⁹⁷ Freedberg, 80.

⁹⁸ Vergo, 211.

For instance, in the Salon de la Guerre the viewer could look above and study the images of war. It is assumed, to experience the whole composition, that it is intended that the visitors perceive the lightning coming from France in the dome, and follow the lightning by moving around and viewing the entire ceiling. In the Salon de la Paix, the viewer can experience the feeling of the reconsolidation of peace with the conclusion of the war, and the viewer should experience this by comprehending the composition. In theory, the emotive feelings Le Brun painted through his Expressions should be very apparent to the viewer, like the mood invoked in a piece of music.

The Musical Modes do not transcend any deeper into musical theory than feeling and Expression.⁹⁹ Schulenberg explains:

There is little evidence that any of these composers shared the academic fascination with equating keys, or modes, with precise expressive characteristics. But the same logic that led Poussin to organize a series of works in terms of prevailing color or expressive character - which he understood metaphorically as a matter of mode -- could apply only slightly less metaphorically to actual musical compositions.¹⁰⁰

Baroque composers and visual artists shared the focus of emotion and drama in their works.¹⁰¹

The Musical Modes do not speak of ratios, keys, or notes, but rather of harmony and expressive quality.¹⁰² It would be wrong to argue that Poussin and Le Brun took anything other than

⁹⁹ This time was a dramatic time of change in music. Music was no longer just rooted in the church, but was making its way into the secular sector. With the birth of Opera music had a whole new opportunity. Music could express emotion like it never could before with secular texts to be performed. Baroque music can be described with the same vocabulary as visual art. For instance: dramatic, emotional, decorative, and flourished. For more information see: Craig M. Wright, *Listening to Western Music* (Belmont, CA: Thomson/Schirmer, 2008).

¹⁰⁰ Schulenberg, 24.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 24-25.

¹⁰² Peter Vergo, *That Divine Order: Music and the Visual Arts from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (London: Phaidon, 2005), 202.

Expression as an emotive quality and mood from music theory.¹⁰³ The influence of music on these painters is that simple. The goal was to give visual art the expressive and emotive quality music incorporates. It was this influence of emotion that promoted Poussin to adopt the Musical Modes in his painting.

As a painter, Poussin practiced a style that can be described as “unity.”¹⁰⁴ It could be argued that “unity” can lead to captured passion in a composition.¹⁰⁵ Marchesano and Michel ask “How, precisely, did a painter translate an event that unfolded in time into a painting and still adhere to the unities of time, place, and action?”¹⁰⁶ The focus on an overall theme, or unity, can distract from a focus on passion, and also Expression. Le Brun strove for “unity,” like Poussin; however Allard argued that while Le Brun did capture passion, he does not argue that this was through the use of Le Brun’s Expressions. In the ceiling paintings and lunettes in the Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix Le Brun’s use of facial Expression leads to passion. However, there can be passion without the Expressions, but the Expressions added passion to the paintings. The paintings are a manifestation of passion that the viewer can unlock through an understanding of the Expressions. The viewer can also unlock the Mode of the work, which is made up of the Expressions. However, in Le Brun’s work no single standard mode was established for each piece. Le Brun is much more focused on the facial expressions and gestures of the figures, since

¹⁰³ It is important to note that this idea is not isolated to France. Montagu writes, “Rou and Gousset may serve as reminders that France was not the only country where such ideas entered into the theory of art. Even in England a musical comparison similar to that of the modes was introduced by the Earl of Shaftesbury, in his insistence that the painter should have regard above all 'to the Agreement or Correspondency of things.’” Montagu, Jennifer. “The Theory of the Musical Modes in the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992): 244. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/751426>.

¹⁰⁴ Allard, 271.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 270.

¹⁰⁶ Marchesano and Michel, 23.

these, as he declared in the *Conference*, make a painting effective.¹⁰⁷ Le Brun does not specifically strive for one cohesive feeling, or a Mode, in his paintings, like Poussin did.

Poussin took the musical humanist doctrine of the effects of Musical Modes and blended it with a theory of the passions of the soul reminiscent of Descartes's *Passions of the Soul*, which will be discussed in the next chapter.¹⁰⁸ Diane De Grazia argues, "Tied to Poussin's use of color and optics to bring harmony to the painting was his belief that ancient Greek musical modes could be applied to painting and that the modes should vary according to the subject matter."¹⁰⁹ In *Conversations of the Lives and Works of the Most Excellent Ancient and Modern Painters* (1666) André Félibien, wrote that Poussin:

paid particular attention to the manner in which he would mix and combine colours to achieve the graduated shade necessary for modeling, to emphasize the different lights and shadows, and to produce different degrees of depth, causing certain parts of the painting to come out and others to recede. All of this he would execute with great art and beauty.¹¹⁰

Félibien describes Poussin's painting technique with very accurate detail. Poussin made use of these techniques to evoke emotion in the viewer.¹¹¹ Poussin believed a painting could be "tuned" to a specific emotion through the composition of the painting. Poussin based his theory of modes on composer and artist Gioseffo Zarlino's (1517-1590), *Instituzioni Harmoniche*.¹¹² It is thought

¹⁰⁷ For a painting to be effective it must be successful in composition including, but not limited to, Mode and unity. The Expressions are a tool to this success.

¹⁰⁸ Allard, 270. Descartes' influence will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁹ Diane De Grazia, "Poussin's 'Holy Family on the Steps' in Context," *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art*, 4 (1999): 47, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20070825>.

¹¹⁰ André Félibien (1619-1695) was an honorary counselor to the Royal Academy and an acquaintance to Poussin. Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger. *Art in Theory 1648-1815: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 103.

¹¹² Denis Mahon, *Poussiniana; Afterthoughts Arising from the Exhibition* (Paris: Gazette des Beaux- arts, 1962), 122.

that Poussin acquired knowledge of Zarlino from Domenichino, when both were in Rome from 1634-1635.¹¹³ Zarlino had also influenced Titian (ca. 1488/1490-1576) a century before Poussin.¹¹⁴ Like Poussin, Titian believed each painting should have a “specific mood.”¹¹⁵ Giseffo Zarlino defined the word “mode” as “reason.” He wrote, “the measure or form which prevents us from going too far in anything we do making us act in all things with a certain temperateness or moderation.”¹¹⁶ In essence the Musical Modes are a complicated concept that can be added on many levels to visual art, such as composition, setting, and color. Poussin’s involvement with the Modes is a theme many scholars have debated.

Not all scholars agree on Poussin’s belief in the Modes. The artist very rarely wrote of the Modes, artists who were his contemporaries, like Le Brun, as well as modern scholars, can misinterpret his few writings. Denis Mahon, a scholar of Poussin, notes:

In the case of Poussin, there can be no question of the importance attached by the master for the greater part of his life to the principle of the appropriate treatment of the subject-matter: more so, no doubt, than most of his contemporaries. But the balanced understanding of this characteristic has been almost fatally bedeviled by the so-called theory of the modes which was foisted on him by Félibien and Le Brun during the process of canonization which followed his death, and totally disproportionate.¹¹⁷

Mahon further argues that the basis of this confusion is Poussin’s letter, to his patron Paul Fréart de Chantelou, as the source for this wrongful assessment of the Modes to Poussin’s ideas.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Pavey, 100.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 100.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 93.

¹¹⁶ Giseffo Zarlino, *On the Modes: Part Four of Le Istitutioni Harmoniche, 1558*, Trans. Vered Cohen. Ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 1.

¹¹⁷ Denis Mahon, *Poussiniana; Afterthoughts Arising from the Exhibition* (Paris: Gazette des Beaux-arts, 1962), Mahon, 122.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 122.

In any case, Le Brun interpreted the letter's text and incorporated that understanding into his *Conference*, ca. 1668, at the Royal Academy, soon after Poussin's death in 1665. While Poussin's purpose in his work was to stir up emotion within the viewer, Le Brun conceptualized these ideas into the theories of Expression, which emphasized evoking the feeling conveyed by the specific Expressions on the viewer.¹¹⁹ Montagu agrees that Le Brun and Felibien "foisted" the idea of modes onto Poussin. In fact, Poussin did not have such a "systematic doctrine."¹²⁰ Montagu argues that there is no evidence that Le Brun knew of Poussin's letter to Chantelou.¹²¹ Most likely, Le Brun learned of the idea of modes directly from Poussin when they were in Rome.¹²² Vergo argues:

Poussin also makes no attempt to derive from all these scraps of musical theory anything resembling rules or precepts for visual art. In the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, his followers tried to extract just precepts from his letters and his other scattered writings. But despite their efforts, we must reconcile ourselves to the fact that, in the end, he never told anyone to paint a picture in the Phrygian mode.¹²³ He merely told Chantelou that he himself intended to do so.¹²⁴

This thesis argues that more than an intention of the Modes can be seen in Poussin's work.

Poussin practiced the Musical Modes in his paintings.

Poussin cited the Greeks as the originators of the Modes. As he explained to Chantelou from Rome on November 24, 1647:

¹¹⁹ Montagu, "This Theory of the Musical Modes," 238.

¹²⁰ Montagu, "The Theory of the Musical Modes," 234.

¹²¹ Ibid., 237.

¹²² Mahon, 176.

¹²³ It is interesting to note that during the time Poussin was constructing his theories the debates of "old" and "new" music were going on among the music theorists. Vergo writes, "Those debates were not confined to the realms of abstract theory; they also affected contemporary musical practice." Vergo, 206.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 206.

This is why I want to tell you something of great importance which will make you see what has to be observed in representing the subjects of paintings. Those fine old Greeks, who invented everything that is beautiful, found several Modes by means of which they produced marvelous effects.¹²⁵

Poussin wrote that the Greeks were successful in their use of the Musical Modes. David Freedberg argues that Poussin used the Musical Modes, writing, “. . . [Poussin] turned to an example from the theory of music to explain what may seem obvious to us: that different subjects require different treatments. But he went still further than this, suggesting that different treatments might have different effects on the beholder.”¹²⁶ While there is a debate about Poussin described his own use of the Musical Modes, the Modes are evident in Poussin’s writing. For instance, Poussin defined the word Mode stating, “The word Mode means, properly, the ratio of the measure and the form that we employ to do anything...”¹²⁷

One then may ask how the Musical Modes were specifically used and what really justified the use of each Mode. Freedberg explains:

Large quantities of ink have been spilt in order to establish what a particular ‘mode’ of individual paintings could be, and whether a particular subject was exposed in a mode suitable or adequate to that subject. But this is not what Poussin intended, however much his descriptions of the modes may suggest this.¹²⁸

He further argues:

...he was not simply pointing to the difficulty of finding the right modes by which to express the relevant emotions of the actors in pictures. Nor was he making a case for the expression of the moral and emotional character (the *ethos*, as it was then called) of a picture or its actors. The basic issue for him, as the

¹²⁵ Charles Harrison, et al., Letter from Poussin to Chantelou, 69.

¹²⁶ Freedberg, 76-77.

¹²⁷ Charles Harrison, et al., Letter from Poussin to Chantelou, 69.

¹²⁸ Freedberg, 79.

letter makes clear, is the arousal of emotion, not the putative expression of emotions within a picture.¹²⁹

This thesis agrees with Freedberg argument that Poussin's main goal was to promote emotional content in visual art for the purpose of arousing a response in the viewer.

Poussin wrote in his letter to Chantelou that the ancients used modes in such a way that they “were put together in proportions that had the power to arouse the soul of the spectator of diverse emotions.”¹³⁰ The Greeks devised a system to accomplish the emotive quality in the Modes. The ancient Greeks named each Mode and applied a specific character to this Mode, and each Mode had its own specific purposes and qualities. Poussin described the Dorian mode as “firm, grave, severe, and [it applies to] matters that were grave, severe, and full of wisdom.”¹³¹ The Phrygian Mode is “pleasant and joyous” and “sharper” than any other Mode while it gives the viewer a feeling of “awe.” A Mode for mourning is the Lydian Mode. The Hypolidian Mode is suitable for subjects of “divine matters, glory, and Paradise,” and has “within itself a certain suavity and sweetness which fills the soul of the beholders with joy.”¹³² It could be imagined that the Hypolidian Mode would be appropriate for the Salon de la Paix, and “frightful wars,” like the Salon de la Guerre, are appropriate subjects for the Dorian mode. “Dances, bacchanals, and feasts because of its cheerful character,” are represented by the Ionic Mode, which could also be appropriate for the Salon de la Paix.¹³³ While there is no manual for the use of the Musical Modes Poussin's descriptions may have been similar to the way he described the Modes

¹²⁹ Ibid., 80.

¹³⁰ Charles Harrison, et al., Letter from Poussin to Chantelou, 69.

¹³¹ Ibid., 69.

¹³² Ibid., 69.

¹³³ Ibid., 69.

to Le Brun. While this speculation cannot be proven, the Musical Modes, by their name, offer a formula, but not rules. Modes can be argued for each painting in the salons. However, because Modes are received by individual viewers, there can be more than one interpretation. Much like Poussin's description of each Mode, there is general correctness with the use of the Modes.

Similar to the use of the Musical Modes is the practice of *bienséance*, which was used by both Poussin and Le Brun. *Bienséance*, a word of French origin, translates simply as propriety or decorum. *Bienséances*, or sometimes referred to as *Les bienséances*, were moral instructions in painting. *Bienséance* was a system of guidelines, as James Jensen explains, that was used “to give the illusion of reality to a morally elevated, larger-than-life presentation of virtue.”¹³⁴ Moral instruction painting was common in early seventeenth century painting but, was not as common by the time of Poussin and Le Brun in the mid-to-late seventeenth century. For a painting to have *bienséance* everything had to be appropriate for the program, or morally correct.¹³⁵ Like a Mode, the painting had to evoke an overall feeling. This concept is related to Le Brun's Expressions. For example, the Expression of *Veneration* evokes the emotion and feeling of *Veneration* (Figure 30). For art to be successful the *bienséance* has to unite the painting with a main goal. *Bienséance* shows how painting relates to music, and the Musical Modes.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Ibid., 39.

¹³⁵ Allard, 270.

¹³⁶ The idea of Modes can be loosely translated to a style. The names and emotions for the Modes came from ancient Greek Musical Modes. Neither Poussin, nor Le Brun, or any other artist who used the Modes explicitly state the precise explanation of the Modes. Thus, the use of Modes can be open to interpretation. The Modes are like Expressions, and for our purposes will be treated as such. For more information about this historical use of Modes see *Colour and Humanism*, by Don Pavey.

Poussin intended to stir up emotion within the viewer.¹³⁷ He believed a painting could be “tuned” to a specific expression by how the work was composed. This composition included the gestures and facial expressions of the figures. Montagu argues:

This is no doubt why Poussin avoided using the word ‘style,’ even though it had been used in theories of rhetoric and poetry in much the way that he now used ‘mode’: by taking over the musical term instead, he could avoid any confusion that might be aroused by the different sense in which ‘style’ had been applied to the visual arts.¹³⁸

Poussin began to speak of the modes out of necessity.¹³⁹ He was explaining his theories of expression and painting to the academic world.¹⁴⁰ Many scholars agree that Le Brun took Poussin’s ideas and theories out of context when he created his own theories. Montagu argues, “So far as the surviving records permit of any certainty, it was Charles Le Brun who introduced the concept of the Modes in Poussin’s sense into the Academy’s discourses, on 7 January 1668...”¹⁴¹ Furthermore, Montagu goes on to say, “Le Brun recognizes that the theory of Modes comes from music, a fact that was not explicitly stated in this letter.”¹⁴² Le Brun built on Poussin’s ideas and made them his own. He does not credit Poussin with his ideas in the *Conference* because they were not Poussin’s ideas, nor were they the Musical Modes. They were something new: they were Le Brun’s own Expressions influenced by Poussin’s discourse and the Musical Modes.

¹³⁷ Montagu, “*The Expression of the Passions*,” 238.

¹³⁸ Montagu, “*The Expression of the Passions*,” 235.

¹³⁹ For the whole letter Poussin wrote to Chantelou see *Art in Theory, 1648-1815*. Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger. *Art in theory 1648-1815: an anthology of changing ideas*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 2000, 69.

¹⁴⁰ Le Brun composed his figures in the traditional academic methods. He drew the nude figures and the added the clothing. Nicolas Milovanovic, “The Studio of Le Brun: the Paintings,” in *The Hall of Mirrors: History & Restoration*, (Dijon: Éditions Faton, 2007), 184.

¹⁴¹ Montagu, “*The Expression of the Passions*,” 236.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 236.

Le Brun saw a need for an explanation of Expression in the Academy. He gave his *Conference* as a way of Expression and to describe how artists should treat Expression. His *Conference* is rooted in Poussin's use of the Musical Modes. It is not known for certain what Poussin truly meant with his words and his mention of the "Modes." Poussin did not explicitly speak of the Modes coming from music and it is likely that there was no need for him to describe this relationship since scholars would automatically understand the Modes as they are related to music. It is not known for certain what Poussin truly meant with his words and his mention of the "Modes." Moreover, it will never really be known if Le Brun took Poussin's terminology out of context. Poussin exerted a strong influence on Le Brun. Descartes also served as a substantial influence to Le Brun, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV: DESCARTES AND THE CONFERENCE

Like Descartes's writings, Le Brun's *Conference* is rooted in philosophy. Scholar of philosophy Stephanie Ross, explains, "Le Brun's treatise lies at the intersection of two quite different traditions in philosophy and aesthetics. It is at once a piece of speculative physiology and a piece offering practical advice to painters."¹⁴³ It is Le Brun's *Conference* that sets him apart from other artists. In these ways Le Brun's work was eccentric and specialized. It was noticed outside the community of artists at the Academy, and earned him praise. In fact, Louis XIV described Le Brun's work saying, "such proofs of his wisdom show him to be the highest and the most grand of all men."¹⁴⁴ This remark clearly shows that Louis XIV valued Le Brun and held him in high regard for having articulated his methods. The treatises of René Descartes' (1596-1650): *Passions of the Soul* and the *Compendium of Music*. *Passions of the Soul* had the most influence on Le Brun. Descartes *Compendium of Music* made an impact on the Musical Modes, and Poussin, and later was a second-hand influence on Le Brun.

Early in his career Descartes discussed topics of musical theory in *Compendium of Music*, which was published December 1618.¹⁴⁵ Like Poussin, Descartes was influenced by many of Zarlino's theories.¹⁴⁶ The opening line of *Compendium of Music* is "The basis of music is sound; its aim is to please and to arouse various emotions in us."¹⁴⁷ In other words, the purpose of music is to arouse the human emotions. Descartes explains, "The composition as a whole and each

¹⁴³ Stephanie Ross, "Painting the Passions: Charles LeBrun's Conference Sur L'Expression." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 45, no. 1 (1984): 26. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2709329> (accessed June 20, 2013).

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 33.

¹⁴⁵ René Descartes, *Compendium of Music*, trans. Water Robert (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 1961), 8

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 8.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 11.

voice individually must be kept within certain limits, called modes...”¹⁴⁸ Historically in music and visual art there is little evidence of what specifically identifies each Mode. “The use of the modes is well known among musicians, and everyone knows what they are; it is, therefore, perhaps unnecessary to explain them,” Descartes wrote.¹⁴⁹ Certainly the Modes were not a new concept; since they had been used since the ancient times. However, Descartes stated that there are twelve Modes and four of the Modes are smoother than the others.¹⁵⁰ Most importantly, Descartes wrote that each Mode is unique and should be used in different ways. He instructed:

As everyone knows, there are three in each mode on which one must begin and, which is even more important, end. The modes owe their name to their ability to prevent tones of a melody from wandering in all directions. Furthermore, the modes allow for a variety of melodies which affect us in different ways according to the characteristics of the modes. Composers employ them in many ways based on practical experiences.¹⁵¹

Similarly, Le Brun used each Expression with its specific purpose and characteristic in mind. Poussin believed, as did Descartes, that the musical and visual composition must leave the viewer complete and satisfied. A composition should not be left with loose ends and leave the viewer wanting more. The use of Modes assures a complete composition. A visual work of art is like a piece of music in that the viewer must not be left wanting. Descartes noted:

At the end of the composition the ear must be satisfied; it must expect nothing more and must realize that the composition is complete. This is best achieved by certain sequences of tones leading to a perfect consonance; [these patterns] the composers call cadences. Zarlino enumerates at length all the possibilities of those cadences.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 51.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 51. Descartes writes that the Modes themselves are based on the musical fifth, which he argues is the most “pleasing” interval. As an interval it is very stable. A fifth is five half-steps, or in another words five notes on the staff working together to create a pleasant and stable sound.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 52.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 52.

¹⁵² Ibid., 48.

“Action and the Passion are always a single thing,” Descartes argued.¹⁵³ The body reacts to the passion simultaneously via the composition. Le Brun also spoke of this action. In the same fashion as Descartes, Le Brun noted the bodily actions of passion, specifically on the face. The movements of the mouth are connected to the feelings of the heart.¹⁵⁴ Le Brun declared, “1st Passion is a motion of the Soul, residing in the Sensitive Part thereof, which makes it pursue that which the Soul thinks it is for good, or avoid that which it thinks hurtful to it: And for the most part whatsoever causes Passion in the Soul, makes some Action of the Body.”¹⁵⁵ It is important to note in this argument that Le Brun stated a painting can create a bodily action within passions of the soul, and it is imperative that the artist know what passions cause which bodily reaction.¹⁵⁶ This bodily reaction Le Brun hypothesizes is like Descartes’ work, and can be laid out scientifically and examined. Le Brun argued that Passion is an alteration of the body, and a movement of the muscles. The body does not move, but the reaction is sent by the nerves to the brain. The nerves settle in the “Cavities of the Brain.” Then the “Spirits from the Blood” pass through the heart. The “Spirits” are “heated and rarefied” so that it “produces a certain subtil Air or Spirit, which ascents up to, and fills the Brain.”¹⁵⁷ The brain is filled by these spirits and transfers them to all other parts of the body.¹⁵⁸ This includes muscles, which received the most

¹⁵³ René Descartes, *Passions of the Soul*, trans. Stephen Voss (Cambridge, MA: Hackett Pub Co Inc, 1989), 19.

¹⁵⁴ Montagu, “*The Expression of the Passions*,” 18.

¹⁵⁵ Le Brun, 132.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 132.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 132.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 132.

spirit.¹⁵⁹ There is a part of the brain that interprets the two images from the eyes. One feels the effects in the heart. The series of effects on the body, by the muscles, all have one goal, to portray the Expression. It is the artist's job, as instructed by Le Brun, to select the appropriate Expression for each figure in the work. As a composition, the figures must work together to seduce the viewer appropriately. Or, according to Le Brun, the Expressions fulfill this function, which is an effect of the passions.

Le Brun was also influenced by Giovanni Battista della Porta (1535-1615), who wrote *Della fisionomia dell'huomo*, which roughly translates to "the physiognomy of man."¹⁶⁰ It was first translated into French in 1655, and again in 1665. The book contained animal-to-man comparisons, described in pseudo-Aristotelian theory. Descartes argued that the animal spirits were part of the blood, and in essence the body.¹⁶¹ The comparisons of man to animal are like the Expressions in that they bring out the emotive quality of the animal in man. Le Brun's drawings of animals mixed with man bring this focus of Expression to light, for example, a drawing of a man that resembles a horse's intelligence, rather than its physical traits.¹⁶² The traits, mental and physical, of animals were derived from observation and folklore.¹⁶³

Descartes is very specific in describing how important the eyes are in the Expression of the passions, "There is no passion which is not manifested by some particular action of the eyes. This is so obvious, in the case of some of them, that even the stupidest servants can tell from

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 132-33.

¹⁶⁰ David Schulenberg, "Artistes in Rome: Froberger, Poussin, and the Modes of Music and Painting," Presented at the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music at Houston, 2010, 7.

¹⁶¹ Descartes, "*Passions*," 24.

¹⁶² Montagu, "*The Expression of the Passions*," 20.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 23.

their master's eyes whether or not he is upset with them.”¹⁶⁴ This statement by Descartes shows that he believes each Expression has a specific look, and something as simple as the eyes can be the determining factor. For Le Brun's *Conference*, this idea of Descartes is essential. Le Brun includes a detailed and specific description of the eyes in many of his Expressions. For instance, in describing the Expression, *Admiration*, Le Brun noted that the eyes are “a little more open than ordinary, and the Ball even between the Lids and without Motion, being fixed on the Object which causes the Admiration.”¹⁶⁵ This analysis not only describes the anatomical look of the eye but also the physical direction in which the eye should be focused. For the Expression, *Terror* (Figure 46), Le Brun instructed that the “...eyes ought to appear entirely open, the upper Eye-lid hid under the brow; the White of the Eye ought to environed with red; the Eye-ball as it were wandering, and situated nearer the lower part of the Eye than the upper; the lower parts of the under lids swelled and livid...”¹⁶⁶ In this description he even dictates the color of the eyes. This is a very explicit detail that should not be overlooked by an artist using the Expressions.

Descartes spoke of the soul as being the determining factor in passion of the body. He instructs, “... in general all the actions of both the face and the eyes can be changed by the soul, when, willing to conceal its passion, it forcefully imagines one in opposition to it; thus one can use them to dissimulate one's passions as well to manifest them.”¹⁶⁷ Descartes' passions are more expressive emotions, for instance, repentance and gratitude, than Le Brun's more physical Expressions, such as horror or fear. Descartes ends his *Passions of the Soul* by stating:

¹⁶⁴ Descartes, “*Passions*,” 79.

¹⁶⁵ Le Brun, 1.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 10.

¹⁶⁷ Descartes, “*Passions*,” 79.

Finally, the soul may have pleasures by itself. But as for those that are common to it and the body, they depend entirely on the Passions, so that the men they can move the most are capable of tasting the most sweetness in this life. It is true that [those men] may find the most bitterness in it, when they do not know how to employ them well and the fortune is opposed to them. But Wisdom is useful here above all: it teaches us to render ourselves such masters of them, and to manage them with such ingenuity, that the evils they cause can be easily borne, and we even derive Joy from them all.¹⁶⁸

This statement acts as a summary, and obviously, a final statement to the work. He is speaking of how one creates and uses the passions, and he argues that wisdom is what controls the emotions. Unlike Poussin or Descartes, Le Brun wrote a manual for young artists to learn how to use Expression for passion in painting, and thus he provides more elaborate descriptions of each passion on a physical level.

The format of the *Passions of the Soul* is very organized and deliberate. Descartes, as well as Le Brun, uses upper and lowercase letters as a formula for emphasis of his statements.¹⁶⁹ The first part of the work discusses the physical components of the body and how they relate to the passions of the soul. Descartes is also very specific in his description of the physicality of the passions. It is the “bodily change” that causes the passion.¹⁷⁰ Descartes lists the passions in a very specific order declaring that the passions progress in that order. For example he categorizes the six “primitive” passions. Le Brun does not distinguish the Expressions he writes of, but rather just moves from one Expression to the next, in no specific order. However, Le Brun does introduce his Expressions by description of emotion, such as weeping.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 134-135.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., viii.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 51.

¹⁷¹ Le Brun describes weeping as, “In weeping, the Motions are mixt, and contrary; for the ends of the Eye-Brows next the Nose will be drawn down, and contrary-wise the same corners of the Eyes, and middle of the Mouth upwards.” Le Brun, 16.

Descartes was a rationalist.¹⁷² His writings on the passions and the soul show that his beliefs were based on reason and that *Passions of the Soul* is a combination of reason and experience of the emotions.¹⁷³ Descartes described him self as “en physicien,” a physicist, not “en philosophe moral,” a moral philosopher.¹⁷⁴ He was a writer of science, not necessarily philosophy. Nevertheless, today his work is considered more philosophical. Descartes added the physical dimension to the “traditional” portrayal of the passions.¹⁷⁵ Descartes follows a “physiological” rather than an “intellectual” approach, which introduced something new to the study of the emotions.¹⁷⁶ Le Brun also takes this scientific approach in his Expressions. Before describing each Expression in detail, Le Brun explained the physical science behind the Expression. Le Brun explained that there is a single gland inside the brain that processed Expression. The senses united the Expression before it came to the soul. Le Brun further points out that his contemporaries argued that this process was articulated in the heart, but Le Brun clarifies that his theory of Expression processes the impression of Expression in the brain, on the soul, and then is felt in the heart.¹⁷⁷

This study of the emotions, or passions, of the soul emerged during the age of the Proto-Enlightenment. This was a time of science and reason, precisely Descartes’ approach in the *Passions of the Soul*. The *Passions of the Soul* was published in 1649, only a few weeks before

¹⁷² Descartes, “*Passions*,” X.

¹⁷³ Ibid., viii.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., Xvi.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., Xviii.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 50.

¹⁷⁷ Le Brun, 5-6.

Descartes death; some scholars argue there is evidence it was never finished.¹⁷⁸ Descartes was working on the *Passions of the Soul* right around the very time Montagu argues that Le Brun began painting with his Expressions. Similar to Poussin's study of the Modes, Descartes looked back to the ancient Greeks to describe the passions.¹⁷⁹ Poussin and Descartes both looked at the Modes as the ancient Greeks described them before they formulated their own theories. Descartes wrote that the passions are the "nature of man," which are naturally rooted in human emotion.¹⁸⁰

Passions of the Soul served as a major influence on Le Brun's *Conference on Expression*, which was intended particularly to instruct young students.¹⁸¹ Le Brun followed the same basic outline as Descartes discussing each passion separately. Le Brun coined the term for his Expressions: *Physiognomies*, which in essence are individual Expressions. In English translation, the Expressions he included are: *Admiration, Esteem, Veneration, Ravishment, Scorn, Horror, Terror, Simple Love, Desire, Hope, Fear, Jealously, Hatred, Sorrow, Bodily Pain, Joy, Laughter, Weeping, Anger, Extreme Despair* and *Rage*. Le Brun described Expression as:

Expression, in my opinion, is a Lively and Natural Resemblance of the Things which we have to represent: It is necessary Ingredient in all the parts of Painting, and without it no Picture can be perfect; it is that which describes the true Characters of Things; it is by that, the different Natures of Bodies are distinguished; that the Figures seem to have motion, and that every thing therein Counterfeited appears to be Real.¹⁸²

Le Brun's ideas of Expression are not scientific, as that they do not originate in observations of nature, but rather from an ideal nature.¹⁸³ Le Brun spoke of the "Expressions" over the "passions."

¹⁷⁸ Descartes, "*Passions*," xv.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., "*Passions*," 18.

¹⁸¹ Le Brun, 132.

¹⁸² Le Brun, 132.

¹⁸³ Montagu, "*The Expression of the Passions*," 19.

One may ask what is the difference between the former and the latter. Le Brun argued Expression is what “marks the Motions of the Soul, and renders visible the Effects of Passion.”¹⁸⁴ Another words, Expression is the effect of the passion. Descartes only really speaks of the passion, not necessarily the Expression, or at least not in the same detail.

The lectures at the Academy, including Le Brun’s *Conference*, were supposed to be recorded by the secretary of the Academy. However, André Félibien, the first secretary of the Academy and Secretary of the *Conference*, was reprimanded for not submitting his recordings in a timely manner.¹⁸⁵ Moreover, Félibien’s successor, Henri Testelin, was known for putting his own words and interpretation into the lectures he recorded.¹⁸⁶ Thus, Ross argues that there are no documents that exist in Le Brun’s own words.¹⁸⁷ In any case, by the 1700s Le Brun’s *Conference* was translated as written by Félibien into English, Italian, German, and Dutch.¹⁸⁸

Ross explained that Le Brun’s main goal with the lecture was to teach young artists how to “paint the passions.”¹⁸⁹ Le Brun succeeded in this goal by first laying out the ideas of the theory, then describing each individual Expression with the characteristics of the facial features. Jennifer Montagu argues Le Brun’s goal was to describe the physical characteristics that make

¹⁸⁴ Le Brun, 132.

¹⁸⁵ Stephanie Ross, "Painting the Passions: Charles Le Brun's Conference Sur L'Expression," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, no. 1 (1984): 45, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2709329> (accessed June 20, 2013).

26. In addition to being secretary at the Academy André Félibien (1619-1695) was also historian to Louis XIV.

¹⁸⁶ Henri Testelin (1616–1695) is known for his portraits of Louis XIV. His work can also be seen at Château de Versailles. As Félibien’s successor Testelin was also secretary at the Academy. In 1680 Testelin published a book on the art theory of the Academy.

¹⁸⁷ Ross, 26.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 33.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 28.

up each Expression.¹⁹⁰ Although Le Brun was influenced by Descartes, he contradicted Descartes by saying “the soul receives the impressions of the passions in the brain but feels their effects in the heart.”¹⁹¹ Ross writes accordingly, “What makes Le Brun different than any previous account of passion and Expression is his sole focus on facial Expression.”¹⁹² While Descartes concentrated on bodily Expression, Le Brun’s innovative focus on facial Expression is what appears in the salons. The facial Expressions provide the narrative and give meaning to each figure’s glorification of the king, as analyzed in the next chapter, Chapter V, Expressions for the Glory of the King.

¹⁹⁰ Montagu, “*The Expression of the Passions*,” 4.

¹⁹¹ Ross, 28.

¹⁹² Ibid., 30.

CHAPTER V: EXPRESSION FOR THE GLORY OF THE KING

Louis XIV (1638-1715) moved the court and government of France to the Château de Versailles in 1682. For over a century, from 1682-1789, the Château de Versailles served as the political and administrative capital of France.¹⁹³ As a powerful domain, the Château de Versailles also served as motivation for economic protectionism and a centralized political character.¹⁹⁴ From there Louis XIV ruled with authority over his court and army.¹⁹⁵ As Pierre Lemoine points out, “By enticing them to court in Versailles and maintaining them there in a state of dependence and idle luxury, he deprived them of their freedom and any temptation to rebellion.”¹⁹⁶ Louis XIV was looking to create a palace over which he had absolute control. He had a personal style that suffused his personality that was conveyed by splendor and luxury.¹⁹⁷ This is the image of the King that Le Brun painted in the salons. The King is represented in the Château de Versailles as a powerful ruler who governed the greatest country of Europe. The King embodied France and the purpose of painting these themes, of war and peace, with the Expressions, was to show the people that walked through the Suite of Power the glory of their King.

The King portrayed himself as the ruler he wanted to be in his palace. He also helped to design the space he wanted that suggested splendor and luxury. As decorator of the Château de

¹⁹³ Lemoine, 21.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 21.

¹⁹⁵ John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1667-1714* (Essex, United Kingdom: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1999), 187. For more information on the wars Louis XIV was involved in see *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1667-1714*.

¹⁹⁶ Lemoine, 21.

¹⁹⁷ Louis' personal style can be described as Italianate Baroque, influenced by Classicism. F. L. Carsten, ed. *The Ascendance of France, 1648-88* (Cambridge: University Press, 1961), 163.

Versailles and Chief Painter to the King, as of 1664, Charles Le Brun played an active role in shaping this visual aesthetic that expressed the personality of the Château de Versailles and the King. John Lynn clarifies, “The personality and values of Louis XIV as an individual did much to guide French strategy; with Louis, it is nearly impossible to separate the monarch from the man. From birth he was groomed to rule France.”¹⁹⁸ Perhaps more importantly he was the embodiment of France. It was Louis’ involvement and accomplishments in his many wars that brought him glory. The salons are in significant place *enfilade*, meaning they are in a row, in the Château de Versailles, as they are the end of the Suite of Power. They occupy a central location of power in the Château de Versailles. It was from there that Louis XIV commanded his court and armies and sat on his throne from this suite of rooms.

Under the guidance of the Academy, the purpose of artists in seventeenth-century France, was to glorify the King. “Félibien ascribes to the art of painting in seventeenth-century France as a political one: glorifying the reign of Louis XIV,” Ross notes.¹⁹⁹ Likewise, according to Ross, Félibien argues that the arts “leave eternal marks of [Louis XIV’s] power and teach posterity the history of his grand actions.”²⁰⁰ These two statements show the importance of the visual arts in supporting the King. What Le Brun portrayed in the Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de La Paix is noteworthy and important to study because of their specific purpose of glorifying the King. The rooms seem quite small in comparison to Le Brun’s other decorative cycles, and seem a small part of the Suite of Power. However, as they are late in Le Brun’s work at the Château de Versailles and they hold such a specific place in the Château de Versailles, they are quite

¹⁹⁸ Lynn, 27.

¹⁹⁹ Ross, 37.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 102.

important.

Jensen explains how Le Brun's work glorified the king and expressed itself to the viewer:

The bulk of Le Brun's paintings, as first painter to Louis XIV, glorify Louis himself, both for the state propaganda purposes and for Louis's own ego. ... The propagandizing is not carried out through a vision of beauty or even through an appeal to the highest emotions, but through appeals to the emotions. We are to be overcome emotionally by Louis XIV's *gloire*. We are to feel his presence. ... We are made to understand and to admire, through emotional persuasion, worldly power and greatness rather than the goodness and vastness of God's cosmos seen through the artistic product as artifact, as microcosm, although conventional allusions to the cosmos, are used to achieve emotional effects.²⁰¹

With his use of Expressions, Le Brun's goal was for the viewer to walk through the salons and feel the power and presence of Louis. The viewer should, from Le Brun's depictions, feel the emotive power and control Louis has over France. This is achieved by the Expressions portrayed by the figures representing the ideas of war and peace.

Louis XIV's stance on ruling France was governed by *gloire*. "The Sun King's value system was fundamentally aristocratic, guided by baroque concepts of war, dynasty, and *gloire*," John Lynn, a scholar of Louis XIV, argues.²⁰² *Gloire* best translates as: renown, reputation, or prestige.²⁰³ At this time *gloire* was not just an aspiration for the French, but for most European countries.²⁰⁴ From 1661-1675, Louis XIV ruled with the goal of *gloire*, and to obtain *gloire* one had to be glorious in war. He pursued this objective through the acquisition of new territories. From 1676 - 1697 the goals of France were far more defensive and aggressive than it had been in

²⁰¹ Jensen, 39.

²⁰² Lynn, 28.

²⁰³ Ibid., 30.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 31.

previous and later years.²⁰⁵ He had won *gloire* by winning the peace of the Treaty of Nijmegen that ended the Dutch War, one of the subjects that was depicted in the Salon de la Guerre.²⁰⁶ It was after the Treaty of Nijmegen that Louis XIV was referred to as Louis the Great.²⁰⁷ Lynn explains, “The aristocratic code of values demanded that a man, to reap his own glory, must display courage in combat. It was not enough to be brave; bravery had to be displayed and proven to gain masculine *glorie*.”²⁰⁸ Le Brun portrays *Glorie* through the depiction of Louis XIV on the allegory of France’s shield in the Salon de la Guerre. In fact, when the salons were being painted, Louis XIV was at the height of his power.²⁰⁹

The Salon de la Guerre, the first salon to be constructed, began in 1678, and Le Brun completed his decoration of both salons by 1686. The salons are square and offer an intimate atmosphere, in comparison to Galerie des Glaces. Since the salons’ ceilings are not very tall, and there are many large windows in the room, the viewer can see the ceiling paintings quite well, this is important because Le Brun painted the figures with his Expressions to be seen by the viewer.

The salons’ ceilings are designed so that there is a dome in the center, from which hangs the chandelier, and lunettes flank the dome on each side of the ceiling. There are no sharp corners in the ceilings, only the curved spandrels, which are also painted. There is also a cornice around the recessed dome painting. This architecture creates a soft atmosphere for the viewer

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 32.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 35.

²⁰⁷ John B. Wolf, *Louis XIV* (New York: Norton, 1968), 402. For more information about Louis XIV’s biography see John Wolf’s *Louis XIV*.

²⁰⁸ Lynn, 52.

²⁰⁹ Wolf, 424.

below. This composition of architecture and the deep space of the dome also creates the necessity for the viewer to walk around the room to view every part of the ceiling. Le Brun purposefully composed these salons symmetrically, so the viewer can recognize the same figures and story from the one salon to the next. Thus, the viewer can establish a personal connection, through this recognition, with this story and the figures.

Much of the day-to-day happenings and the personality of Louis XIV were recorded in the memoirs of Louis de Rouvroy, Duke de Saint-Simon (1675-1755), and godson of Louis XIV. “He liked nobody to be in any way superior to him,” de Rouvroy said, and further observed, “He loved glory, was fond of order and regularity; was by disposition prudent, moderate, discreet, master of his movements and his tongue.”²¹⁰ The statement “he loved glory” is a summary of the work Le Brun completed at the Château de Versailles.

In a description of an absolute monarchy and what the king stood for according to “The Power, Rights, and Duties of Sovereigns,” Jean Domat (1625-1696), a jurist during the reign of Louis XIV, wrote in his *On Social Order and Absolute Monarchy*:

The sovereign power of government should be proportionate to its mandate, and in the station he occupies in the body of human society that makes up the state, he who is the head should hold the place of God. For since God is the only natural sovereign of men, their judge, their lawgiver, their king, no man can have lawful authority over others unless he holds it from the hand of God ... The power of sovereigns being thus derived from the authority of God, it acts as the arm and force of the justice that should be the soul of government; and that justice alone has the natural claim to rule the minds and hearts of men, for it is over these two faculties of men that justice should reign.²¹¹

²¹⁰ Ibid., 396.

²¹¹ Summarized by Paul Halsall in Halsall, Paul. “Jean Domat (1625-1696): On Social Order and Absolute Monarchy,” *Modern History Sourcebook*. <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1687domat.asp>.

Understood to have absolute authority, the King can judge as God judges. In fact, the consecrated sovereign was neither a god nor a man, but something greater and lesser, and was authorized by God. Thus, in his image was an image of the most holy.

During the time Le Brun was painting the salons he also assisted with the production of massive prints, many measuring over four feet wide and/or tall, that glorified the King's power, and they carried the same as the agenda as the salons.²¹² These prints are "*histoire du roi*," which translates to "story of the king," and were the royal propaganda of day. They showed those unaware of Louis XIV of his power as a ruler.²¹³ Marchesano and Michel elaborate:

In addition to the criticism of individual works, many passionate historians identified as Le Brun's blackest sin or, alternately, crowning grace, his fabrication of the dazzling baroque ensembles at the château de Versailles. If, on the other hand, observers thought the palace and grounds of Versailles symbolizes the faults and tyranny of a megalomaniacal king. Le Brun was labeled as an academic despot, a sellout, pasticheur, decorator, royal lackey, chimerical allegorist, and willing propagandist. If, on the other hand, Versailles stood for the splendor and magnificence of a culturally enlightened monarchy, then its sculpture, paintings and decorative acts provided unassailable evidence of French genius. In this scenario Le Brun was honored as a *peintre-savant* (painter-scholar), intelligent apologist, eclectic inventor designer, theorist, teacher, public servant, and administrator. Indeed, the wide variety of his work ... was cited in the eighteenth and nineteenth century as proof of French artistic dominance.²¹⁴

Louis XIV controlled French culture during his reign. It was through the Academy that he maintained his image as a warrior king.²¹⁵ The Royal Academy, established in 1648, was a

²¹² Marchesano and Michel, 2.

²¹³ Ibid., vii.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 21.

²¹⁵ "The Rise and Fall of the Absolute Monarchy: Grand Siècle and Enlightenment," French Culture: Library of Congress Exhibition, accessed September 18, 2013, <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/bnf/bnf0005.html>

source of royal power, as it “regulated artistic style” and “monopolized art theory.”²¹⁶ The Academy was the source for all visual art connected to the King in France. The Academy controlled the style of France and controlled the styles that were appropriate for the King and France.²¹⁷ Amy Schmitter argues, “That one effect of royal power is the ability to command resources and to cause the proliferation of representations, especially flattering representations, is no surprise.”²¹⁸ A visitor to France, or a Frenchman, should feel the power of their king by viewing his image.²¹⁹ This is what makes the salons an important component to the identity of the Château de Versailles. The viewer should feel, according to Le Brun’s depictions, the king’s power through the representation of war and peace. The king was represented well by Le Brun’s work at the Château de Versailles. Schmitter clarifies:

LeBrun’s most typical paintings and cycles of decoration portray either the virtues of the ministers of the King, models of and for the King, or most important of all, the King himself in all his glory and power, embedded in allegorical narrations of the accomplishments of the King that are unfolding portraits of his titles and attributes. And the task of portraying an embodied and absolute state power requires operations of representation beyond that allowed by the legible body.²²⁰

The King was represented as something almost unearthly. He was personified as France and as God. The personifications of God and France really are not interchangeable. They are different things. Allegory is a way to show his power as King. It is appropriate that Le Brun turned to it to glorify the King. Allegory was a way to show all of Louis XIV’s triumphs as the King of France

²¹⁶ Amy M. Schmitter, "Representation And The Body Of Power In French Academic Painting," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 63, no. 3 (2002): 401. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3654315> (accessed June 20, 2013).

²¹⁷ Goldstein, 86.

²¹⁸ Schmitter, 399.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 402.

²²⁰ Schmitter, 408-9.

at the times of war and peace. Le Brun did not heavily use Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, but he did use Jean Baudouin's *Iconologie ou explication nouvelle de plusieurs images, emblèmes, autres figures hiéroglyphiques des Vertus, des Vices, des Arts, des Sciences, des Causes naturelles, des Humeurs différentes et des Passions humaines*.²²¹ Milovanovic has argued that Le Brun's allegorical work has a more "personal" connection because of his use of his Expressions.²²² The personality of Louis XIV was quite unique, and the way he maintained his power and splendor was dependent on his personality.

Le Brun painted the salons during the War of Devolution (1667–68) and the Dutch War (1672–78) as Louis XIV was intent establishing his rule and *gloire*.²²³ The artist's portrayal of war promoted the perception of Louis XIV as a strong man and powerful ruler.²²⁴ To be a successful warrior, Louis realized he must be portrayed as a ruler that interacted in war.²²⁵ Louis XIV's goal was to establish *gloire* during the Dutch War and War of Devolution.²²⁶ The French armies were the largest they had even been and they gained new territories under Louis XIV, with an army of 279,000 men.²²⁷ In the *Mémoires de Louis XIV pour l'instruction du dauphin* Louis XIV said, "good order makes us look assured, and it seems enough to look brave, because

²²¹ Milovanovic, "The Iconographic System," 120.

²²² Ibid., 122.

²²³ Lynn, 105.

²²⁴ Lynn, 28.

²²⁵ Ibid., 29.

²²⁶ Ibid., 44.

²²⁷ As a comparison, Louis XIII ruled with an army of approximately 125,000 men. "At the least, [Louis XIV] behavior is condemned as a series of poorly conceived and awkward attempts to extend French domination. However, prospect theory suggests that it is possible to regard Louis's intentions most extreme behavior as evidence of intensely defensive intentions rather than as proof of boundless ambition," Lynn argues further. Lynn, 50.

most often our enemies do not wait for us to approach near enough for us to have to show if we are in face brave.”²²⁸ The salons exemplify a time of good order and suggest that France organized several countries of Europe into peace; without France there would not be peace.

Louis XIV’s image was included in the Salon de la Guerre. An allegory of France holds the shield that bears the bust of the king high above the viewer; he is looking down towards the beholder with a stern face and is framed with the laurel wreath that crowns his head (Figure 37). His eyes are soft but his lips are pursed tightly. He wears one of his signature intricately curled wigs and classical Roman armor.²²⁹ Le Brun painted the King as a superior ruler not afraid to face battle for his country. Rainssant wrote that the king’s image was included "to hear that it is he who [of France] makes victorious enemies, and puts to cover their efforts."²³⁰ His image reminded visitors to the Château de Versailles who was France, and who was in power. Not only was his image a fixture in the salons, but also the actual body of the king was often in the salons.

As Le Brun painted the salons, he was painting the persona of a ruler, and he was painting the personality of the King in glorification of the King. He accomplished this with the use of his Expressions. Furthermore, it is the placement of the salons within the Château de Versailles and the choices Le Brun made in composition and the use of Expressions that suggest the *glorie* of the King. The salons are a statement of the power of France and the dominance of the King, who was France. In preparation of an analysis of the use of the Expressions in the salons, the next chapter provides an in depth background of the Expressions and Le Brun’s *Conference*.

²²⁸ Ibid., 66.

²²⁹ Ibid., 29.

²³⁰ Rainssant, 96. Translated by Author.

CHAPTER VI: LE BRUN'S EXPRESSIONS

Undertaking the painting the ceilings in the Galerie des Glaces and the Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix was an ambitious project for the sixty year old Le Brun. One of Le Brun's goals as an artist was to teach the younger generation of artists with his *Conférence sur l'Expression*, so it was natural for him to use assistants to complete his ceiling paintings in the Galerie des Glaces. Milovanovic argues that Le Brun's own hand can only be seen in the sections of the Galerie des Glaces that are on canvas, while his studio was responsible for all the paintings on plaster.²³¹ If this is true, then the assistants would have completed all of the paintings in the salons because the paintings are plaster. Undoubtedly it would have been more convenient for Le Brun to have his assistants complete the salon's paintings, especially since he would have been nearly sixty years old when the salons were begun and approaching seventy years old when the salons were finished. Even with the use of assistants Le Brun did not lose quality in his work. It is known that Le Brun kept a close eye on his assistants completing his compositions. During the Galerie des Glaces restoration in 2007, there were many discoveries of areas of *pentimenti*, proving Le Brun watched and corrected the execution of his work.²³² Moreover, the use of assistants did not prevent the use of Le Brun's Expressions. It is the use of Expression for the narrative in painting that Le Brun wanted to teach the history painter to incorporate into their work.

When Le Brun wrote his theories on Expression, he focused on the face. The Expressions are a formula and serve as a set of rules for the artists work to follow. Lee Rensselaer explains how Le Brun approached designing the Expressions, "Hence the exhaustively precise nature of

²³¹ Milovanovic, "The Studio of Le Brun," 188.

²³² Ibid., 193.

Le Brun's anatomy of the passions which treats the body as a complex instrument that records with the mechanical exactitude that invariable effects of emotional stimuli rather than as the vehicle of humanly significant emotional life."²³³ For instance, the eyebrows, when placed in a specific location on the forehead, portray a certain emotive characteristic that makes up an Expression. Jensen elaborates that it is the viewer's perception of the Expressions that results in an "emotional response" and a "natural phenomena."²³⁴ As the viewer perceives the Expressions on the figures Le Brun painted in the salons, their perception of the King could plausibly change as well. For instance, the figure's Expressions show the triumph of the armies of France, an extension of the will and *gloire* of the King. Only with the correct formula of Expression could the artist be successful in communicating particular emotion to the viewer. For the formula to work the viewer must study the lines of the figure's facial Expression, the lines Le Brun established and interpreted. Lee further argues that to study Le Brun's work one must use the ideas of formalism. For instance, it is the exact placement of the eyebrows, which are lines, that can change the Expression. The viewer must study the placement, or composition, of the eyebrows to get the correct "emotional stimuli" from the work.

Le Brun named his theories of Expression *Physiognomics*: a man's character from his physical appearance.²³⁵ No text remains that completely explains *Physiognomics*.²³⁶ However, the need for *Physiognomics* is clear in Le Brun's theories. In order to tell the story of Louis XIV's glory as a warrior king and peace maker, the figures need dramatic Expressions. History

²³³ Rensselaer Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1967), 28.

²³⁴ Jensen, 193.

²³⁵ Montagu, "The Theory of the Musical Modes," 1.

²³⁶ Montagu, "*The Expression of the Passions*," 19.

paintings, as they rank in the highest hierarchy of genres, needed Expression as the tool to convey their narrative to the viewer.²³⁷

To really understand the phenomenon of changing Expression and how Le Brun approached it one must look at what he wrote in his *Conference*. Le Brun breaks each Expression of human emotion into *Physiognomics*, ie, simple qualities of Expression. In his *Conference*, Le Brun describes:

Expression, in my opinion, is a Lively and Natural Resemblance of the Things which we have to Represent: It is necessary Ingredient in all the parts of Painting, and without it no Picture can be perfect; it is that which describes the true Characters of Things; it is be that, the different Natures of bodies are distinguished; that the Figures seem to have Motion, and that every thing therein Counterfeited appears to be Real.²³⁸

The complexity of the Expression depends on the complexity of the passion.²³⁹ Le Brun described Expression as the “Motion of the Soul.”²⁴⁰ The use of Expression, when done correctly, notably gives movement to the figure, but also moves the viewer’s soul.

Le Brun’s goal was to represent nature in the most ideal way, with each Expression exemplifying ideal human reaction to emotion.²⁴¹ “The rules of decency insisted that the Expression of even the most extreme emotions should be restrained within certain bounds, which were dependent on the age, sex or rank of the person depicted,” notes Montagu.²⁴² This goes back to the argument that the Expressions should be ideal. However, Montagu writes that in some Expressions, the emotion may not be apparent to today’s viewer immediately.

²³⁷ Ibid., 30.

²³⁸ Le Brun, 2.

²³⁹ Schmitter, 406.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 2.

²⁴¹ Montagu, “The Theory of the Musical Modes,” 4.

²⁴² Montagu, “The Expression of the Passions,” 4.

Le Brun argues that it is the passion in the soul that activates the body. For instance, the circular compositions of the domes in the salons draw the body to move around the salons to view each figure. Without moving around the room the viewer could not engage with all of the figures, as they are not all visible from the same location. The Expressions create that immediate connection with the viewer that draws the viewer around the room. It is this connection that the viewer must interpret.

For Le Brun to speak of the Expressions, he first had to catalogue the expressions. Moreover, he had to decipher a changing emotional state. We are trained by the images we see and experiences we have in our lives to understand a screaming face appropriately. For the artist to create the formula for a screaming face is an “intellectual process.”²⁴³ However, some viewers have argued against Le Brun, as he has no way of knowing the physical agony of some of his passions, such as *Horror*, because Le Brun may not have experienced these emotions in such intense contexts.²⁴⁴ However, through direct observation Le Brun was concerned with the physical accuracy of the body.²⁴⁵ Montagu notes, “Ever since the Renaissance the artist has looked to science for assistance: the study of anatomy enabled him to understand the movements of the skeleton and the muscles so that he could reproduce them in his work, even when they were too complex or fleeting to be easily in nature without such prior knowledge.”²⁴⁶ However, Montagu adds, “It might be questioned whether a painter who had never suffered physical agony would be able to imbue his screaming head with adequate force and veracity, or at least it might

²⁴³ Montagu, “*The Expression of the Passions*,” 6.

²⁴⁴ Le Brun describes the expression of *Horror* as the “eye-ball, instead of being in the middle of the Eye, will be drawn down under the lid; the mouth will be open, but closer in the middle than at the corners...” Le Brun, 9.

²⁴⁵ Montagu, “*The Expression of the Passions*,” 14.

²⁴⁶ Montagu, “*The Theory of the Musical Modes*,” 7.

be argued that to do so would require a more active and sensitive imagination.”²⁴⁷ Le Brun had this imagination. It is the “...representation of a formula which the spectator will recognize as a screaming face,” Montagu clarifies.²⁴⁸ In his formula it is the eyebrows, where the true Expression resides. Le Brun writes, “And as we have said, that the Gland in the middle of the Brain, is the place where the Soul receives the Images of the Passions; so the Eye-brow is the part of the Face where the Passions are best distinguished, tho’ many have thought it to be in the Eyes.”²⁴⁹ For Le Brun, these are the sources of transmitting the passion. The eyebrows are what show the viewer the Expression. Le Brun specifically describes the eyebrows for each of his Expressions.

Le Brun glorified the King in allegories using these Expressions, such as the Expression of *Veneration*. Allegory is not reality of the event, but it is very important to the narrative of the salons.²⁵⁰ It is the allegories that tell the narrative of Louis XIV’s war glories, and France’s glory. Le Brun not only used Expression in new ways, but allegory in new ways. Louis Marchesano and Christian Michel point out, “Le Brun had in fact relied with some consistency upon conventional sources for his allegories, but it was true enough that he had invented symbols and densely clustered them in new ways”²⁵¹ Allegory was a way for Le Brun to use his Expressions to their fullest potential. How Le Brun used allegories and Expression in the salons was something exceptional to Le Brun. The next chapter, as a concluding chapter to this thesis,

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 6.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 6.

²⁴⁹ Le Brun, 14.

²⁵⁰ Louis Marchesano and Christian Michel, 32.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 33.

Chapter VII, pulls all of the preceding chapters together with examples of the Expressions in the salons.

CHAPTER VII: THE USE OF EXPRESSION IN THE SALONS

Many scholars have mentioned Le Brun's Expressions; however, very few have really digested them, and no one has analyzed their application in the salons in the Suite of Power at Versailles. Le Brun's work prior to the *Conference* and the work after the *Conference* demonstrate his specific use of expression. The figures in the Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix at Versailles, which were the last of his projects at the Château de Versailles, were completed about two decades after the *Conference*. It seems extraordinary that scholars neglect to mention the salons in their study of Le Brun. This is most likely due to the fact that the salons are small in comparison to his other decorative cycles.²⁵² However, as the culmination of his work at the Château de Versailles and just a few years before his death in 1690, they stand out as one of his greatest works. Moreover, the salons are a major part of the Suite of Power, and they stand in the center of the palace. The design of the salons and Le Brun's obvious glorification of the king in contemporary events makes the paintings of the Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix a very fascinating study.

As one analyzes figures of the images in the salons one can recognize in the faces of the painted figures the Expressions described by Le Brun in the *Conference* almost exactly. This type of close visual analysis, matching the figures in the painting to the figures from the *Conference*, is not a common method of study by scholars of Le Brun's Expressions. Most will specify that Le Brun used his Expressions, but they do not concisely illustrate, nor do they demonstrate how and why Le Brun used them. Using individual figures for an analysis will offer a deeper understanding of how and why Le Brun created, used, and went back to these specific Expressions. This understanding will come from asking what Le Brun was trying to represent, to

²⁵² Le Brun's most notable large projects, other than the Galerie des Glaces, are his Gallery of Apollo at the Louvre, and Vaux-le-Vicomte.

the viewer, in each figure by analyzing the choices in expression. The selection in expression is Le Brun's conscious choice in telling the narrative in the salons. Each figure has a story to tell and the story is told through the dramatic facial Expressions.

For this argument several examples of Le Brun's Expression in the salons that correspond with the explanation of expression in his *Conference* are presented. These examples are the strongest representations of Le Brun's use of expression on the ceilings of the salons. One of the first Expressions Le Brun describes in his *Conference* is the Expression of *Veneration*.²⁵³ *Veneration* can be observed in the allegory of Spain in the lunette dedicated to Spain in the Salon de la Paix (Figure 13). Le Brun depicted Spain looking towards France, who is in the center of the dome.²⁵⁴ Spain is crouched near the ground on a bended knee with her golden brocade pulled around her lower body to define her knees. Le Brun depicted the allegory of Spain (Figure 28) with the Expression of *Veneration* because Spain is, or should be, grateful for the assistance from France, whom she regards highly. It is this respect and appreciation of the allegory of France from Spain, that made Le Brun choose the expression of *Veneration*.²⁵⁵

Spain holds a spear but is not propelling it towards France in any way. She is not in an offensive or defensive position. One can almost see her body relaxing, with her arms open wide, as she sets eyes on France. Le Brun describes *Veneration* as similar to the expression for *Esteem* (Figure 44). However, in *Veneration* the "Eye balls [are] more turn'd up under the brow."²⁵⁶ The

²⁵³ Translated from "La Veneration."

²⁵⁴ It is important to remember that France is above all of the countries in Europe by giving the gift of peace to the other countries. The countries receiving this gift should be thankful to France. The viewers of these ceiling paintings should remember this idea. In glorification of France, which is glorification of the King.

²⁵⁵ A male figure in *La Hollande accepte la paix* also depicts the Expression of veneration (Figure 25). This figure is different in that he is on his knees thanking France for the gift of peace.

²⁵⁶ Le Brun, 4.

viewer's eyes should be drawn to the whites of the eyes as they look at this figure. The whites of the upturned eyes are very obvious against the smoky blue background and the flesh tones of the figure's face. Le Brun further describes, "This depression of the Mouth and Eyebrows marks a Submission and Respect of the Soul to an Object She believes above her: The Eye-ball turned upward, seems to make the Elevation of the Object considered, which it acknowledges, to be worthy of *Veneration*."²⁵⁷ Both in the figure in the ceiling painting and in the drawing, the mouth is relaxed. This description fits the narrative of this lunette. Spain is looking up at France with respect because France is coming to give the gift of peace to Spain. Her expression in great part tells the story.

Scorn is a quite different Expression from that of *Veneration*, the dramatic Expression *Scorn* is described by Le Brun as:²⁵⁸

Scorn is expressed by the Eye-brow frowning and drawn down by the side of the Nose, the other end thereof very much raised; the Eye very open, and the Eye-ball in the middle; the Nostrils drawn upwards; the Mouth shut, the Corners a little drawn down; the under Lip thrust out beyond the upper.²⁵⁹

This description creates a rather animated and exaggerated facial expression, and one can see this in the dramatic furrowed brow on the soldier in the background in the lunette *L'Allemagne défaite* (Figure 5) in the Salon de la Guerre. This soldier was fighting to his death in this war (Figure 31). This is represented in his facial expression, as he thrusts his spear towards France, who is sending lightning from the center of the composition in the dome. Exhaustion and disdain are clearly depicted on the German soldier's face. His face is framed by his arm and protruding

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 4.

²⁵⁸ Translated from "Le Mépris," which can be roughly translated to English as contempt.

²⁵⁹ Le Brun, 8.

elbow, which is drawn so that his chin is resting on his thrusting arm, his elbow emphasized with a striking reflection. The representation of his arm and elbow displays the soldier's strength.²⁶⁰ Figure 32 shows the drawing Le Brun provided for *Scorn*, which demonstrates there are very similar same facial features in the soldier as in the drawing. In the drawing the furrowed brow and downturned mouth are emphasized. Once one sees the lines of the facial Expressions, the furrowed brow and downturned mouth are easier to recognize in the ceiling painting. This soldier is in close proximity to Germany, the main figure in this composition, so the viewer's eye would be drawn to this soldier. The dramatic facial features, because they are so striking, provide assurance that the viewer cannot miss this figure.

Desire can be seen in the dome of the Salon de la Guerre in the composition titled *La France foudroyant ses ennemis* (Figure 3).²⁶¹ The woman expressing *Desire*, is one of allegories of victory (Figure 33); she represents the defeat of Luxembourg on June 3, 1684.²⁶² She is carrying a shield of the city and wearing a laurel wreath of victory. Allegories of victory typically have wings and crowns.²⁶³ According to Le Brun's drawing (Figure 34), her Expression conveys *Desire*. The most defining features for *Desire* are the eyes. The eyes are defined in the drawing with crosshatching that creates dark shadows. Le Brun says the eyes should be "full of fire."²⁶⁴ Similar to *Veneration*, it is the eyes and eyebrows that are most important to this

²⁶⁰ It is appropriate to make the connection that the strength represented in this soldier is a metaphor for the strength that Louis XIV, as a Warrior King Louis XIV commanded his armies with strength and dignity, like this soldier. This soldier is representative of his king and county.

²⁶¹ Translated from "Le Desir."

²⁶² Nicolas Milovanovic, "la galerie des Glaces, catalogue iconographique, catalogues des collections."

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Le Brun, 16.

expression. *Desire* is represented by the openness of the eyes. Both the ceiling painting and drawing represent *Desire* with wide-open eyes, as if in wonder. Le Brun further argues the eyebrows should be “pressed and advanced over the Eyes.”²⁶⁵ The eyebrows then frame the eyes, draw attention to them, and create a shadow that defines the eyes. The viewer should be drawn to the eyes in the expression of *Desire*. This figure of victory is placed on the edge of the dome. This is one of the instances that require the viewer to walk around the center area of salon to see this figure, as she is enclosed in the rim of the dome. Once the viewer is standing at a location where he or she can see the figure they can read the Expression of *Desire*, which can be read through her eyes as she looks down towards the viewer. The viewer, as Le Brun stated, should be drawn to the victory’s eyes. Her eyes are soft and sparkle with their dark intense color. *Desire* is an emotion of wishing and hoping, and in this instance the victory is longing for peace, which is exhibited in the next salon.

Fear is an expression that is similar to *Scorn*. Fear is very intense and active, and *Fear* can also be seen in the Salon de la Guerre in the lunette titled *Bellone en fureur* (Figure 7).²⁶⁶ This lunette does not depict a specific European country, but Bellona, the Roman goddess of war, who is also often identified as the wife of Mars.²⁶⁷ The figure representing *Fear* is the allegory for rebellion (Figure 35). What signifies he is rebellion are his helmet, adorned with a cat, which is an attribute of Rebellion’s iconology and a lance.²⁶⁸ In this composition, while the figure is a representation for rebellion, he is struck with Fear, which is shown in his Expression (Figure 36).

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 16.

²⁶⁶ Translated from “La Crainte.”

²⁶⁷ Nicolas Milovanovic, “la galerie des Glaces, catalogue iconographique, catalogues des collections.”

²⁶⁸ Rebellion in Iconologia by Jean Baudoin is described as, “for that animal to be about naturally abhor and duress.” Baudoin, 168.

Rebellion can be read one way iconologically, but can be read another way with Le Brun's Expressions. It is Louis XIV triumphs in war that strikes this figure with fear, and Le Brun made the choice to portray Rebellion with fear to further promote the King's war glories. Le Brun draws and describes *Fear* as, "The Eye-ball sparking in an unquiet Motion, and situated in the middle of the Eye; the Mouth open, being drawn back, and more open at the Corners, than in the middle, having the upper Lip more drawn back."²⁶⁹ Like *Desire* and *Veneration*, one of the defining features of *Fear* are the eyes. Le Brun writes that the eyes are in motion, however, the mouth is also in motion. One can see this feature better in the drawing of the expression. The profile drawing shows the open mouth with the upper lip extended over and above the lower lip. Rebellion carries these attributes. He is equipped with a lance but he appears to be uncertain of the possibility of his success. His eyes, mouth, and eyebrows show this. His eyebrows are gathered in the center of his forehead creating dramatic folds. His pupils are dark and draw the eye to the brows above. The drawing and the ceiling painting show a dramatic shadow on the figure's neck and side of the face. This adds some darkness to the figure, and is similar to the figure of *Scorn*.

Hope can be seen in the allegory of France in the Salon de la Guerre's center dome titled *La France foudroyant ses ennemis* (Figure 3).²⁷⁰ Le Brun argues the expressive qualities of *Hope* are internal, not external. The Expression should show the figure's internal feelings. He does not mention this internal quality in any other description of an Expression. In his description of *Hope* the only specific facial features he mentions are the eyebrows. Le Brun clarifies, "...one part of the Eye-brow marks *Fear*, the other part marks *Security*; and so in all the parts of the Face and

²⁶⁹ Le Brun, 18.

²⁷⁰ Translated from "L'Esperance."

Body the Motions of these two Passions are participated and intermix'd.”²⁷¹ In another words, *Hope* is a complicated expression. It involves a look of fear and security. France, who has the expression of *Hope*, is represented in the center of the Salon de la Guerre as a powerful figure sent by royalty (Figure 37). As she sits in the center of the room the viewer would most likely be drawn to this figure first, which would make sense since she is the personification of France. The viewer would notice that her arm is raised as she sends lightning below. The viewer would then accordingly follow the lightning to the four lunettes that flank the center dome. She is carrying a shield with Louis XIV's image. This is also complicated: Louis XIV represents hope for peace. Louis engaged in many wars during his reign, and as France he triumphed over war and gave the hope of peace to the countries of Europe. The allegory of France is depicted regally in a blue robe which is embellished with gold fleur-de-lis, the symbol for French royalty. She is powerful, and she shows her power through her gesture and Expression. What is also striking between the allegory of France and the drawing (Figure 38) is the prominent resemblance. The facial features are very similar between the women portrayed. This detail shows Le Brun had a distinctive style in his figures. Moreover, he had a distinctive formula for Expression.

One of the last Expressions Le Brun includes in his *Conference* is *Sorrow*.²⁷² Le Brun provides rich details of the elements of the Expression *Sorrow*. He says the eyebrows should be placed in the middle of the forehead. The figure's eyes in *Sorrow* are “dull.” This is a contrast from the Expression *Desire*, which says the eyes should be full of fire. Moreover, he writes the eyelids should be drawn downward to create this dull appearance. Also, to create the sorrowful

²⁷¹ Ibid., 17.

²⁷² Translated from “La Tristesse,” which roughly translates to sadness.

effect, the nose and nostrils should also be pointing down.²⁷³ In the lunette *L'Espagne défaite* (Figure 4) in the Salon de la Guerre, Spain is the figure demonstrating *Sorrow* (Figure 40). Spain is dressed in an imagined native headdress, a sign of its American possessions, and a gold brocade coat. She is holding a lance, preparing to defend herself from France, at whom she directs her gaze. Her eyes are looking at France, which marks the Expression of *Sorrow*, which can be seen in the drawing (Figure 40). Her eyebrows are compressed in a pile above her eyes, which creates a stark shadow. *Sorrow* fits this figure as she is defending herself against the powerful France almost as if she sorrowfully recognizes the futility of her opposition to France. Her Expression is marked with pain. War is pain for Spain. However, France is coming to the rescue.

Jealously, like *Scorn* is an animated Expression fueled by passion. *Jealously* can be seen in a soldier in the lunette *Bellone en fureur* (Figure 7).²⁷⁴ The soldier is dressed in armor and has a helmet with an extravagant plume that blows in the wind and draws attention to his furrowed brow (Figure 41). Le Brun describes *Jealously* as an Expression fixed on passion, by writing the “Eye-ball hid under the lids, turning towards the object, which causes the passion regarding it...”²⁷⁵ Le Brun also describes the nose in this Expression, he explains “...the nostrils pale, open, and more marked than ordinary, and drawn back, which makes Wrinkles in the Cheeks...”²⁷⁶ These details are visible in the drawing of the Expression *Jealously* (Figure 42). The harsh lines

²⁷³ Ibid., 22.

²⁷⁴ Translated from “La Jalousie”

²⁷⁵ Le Brun, 19.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 19.

in the painted figure's and the drawing's brow and cheeks are what express the passion Le Brun writes of in this Expression.

The Expression of *Jealously* and passion of this figure is appropriate for the setting in the Salon de la Guerre. The soldier is fighting against France, and perhaps expresses a desire to be a part of France, hence the *Jealously*. As Le Brun is promoting France and King Louis XIV it would be appropriate for Le Brun to depict figures with the Expression of *Jealously*. France was depicted as the all powerful and glorified savior in the salons. Thus, it would only be appropriate for figures to be expressing *Jealously* against France.

In the figure Magnificence in *La France donne la paix à l'Europe* the Expression of *Esteem* is represented (Figure 12).²⁷⁷ She is showing what France needs, which is to continue to strive for magnificence in art and science as signified by her gesture as she points towards a classical architectural plan she holds in her hand (Figure 43). Like the Expression *Veneration* Le Brun describes the eyes in detail for *Esteem*. He explains, "eyebrows will appear advanced forward over the eyes, being depressed next to the nose, and the other ends a little, the Eye very open, and the Eyeball turn'd up-wards."²⁷⁸ Le Brun also describes the mouth for this expression by saying "...the Mouth a little open, the corners drawing back, and hanging downward." These attributes can be seen in the drawing for *Esteem* (Figure 44).

Esteem is closely related to *Veneration*, however in this case the figure is honoring France's advancements in art and science, through a display of her architectural plan. This success is possible through the leadership and achievements of the King. In the past France has been more than successful in art and science, and through the use of this figure's Expression of

²⁷⁷ Translated from "l'Estime"

²⁷⁸ Le Brun, 3.

Esteem it is conveyed to the viewer that France will continue to be innovative and fruitful in art and science.

With the Expression of *Terror* Le Brun returns to his study of the science behind the Expressions. The Expression *Terror* has a long and elaborate description written by Le Brun who explains in detail of how and why the Expression of *Terror* looks the way it does. Le Brun does not write such an in depth entry for every Expression. Le Brun argues:

we find, that in this Condition the Spirits come plentifully from the Brain, as it were to cover the Soul, and defend it from the Ill which it fears: The Openess of the Mouth makes appear, that the Heart is oppressed by the Bloud which is retired towards it: which obliges him that is possessed by this Passion which he would breathe, to make an Effort, which causes the Mouth to open...²⁷⁹

Terror is seen in *L’Espagne défaite* in the Salon de la Guerre, on a soldier in the background (Figure 45). What is most apparent in this figure is his open mouth and wide-open eyes, which can also be seen in the drawing for the Expression of *Terror* (Figure 46). Le Brun writes “If the eyes appear extremely open in this passion, it is because the Soul makes use of them to observe the Nature of the Object which causes the Fright.” This description explains that the figure must have a purpose for this terror and should be facing this terror.

The figure in *L’Espagne défaite* is directed towards the lightning from France as he looks above him. His *Terror* is directed towards France, as they are successful in their endeavors of war. With this use of the Expression of *Terror* Le Brun is arguing that France’s armies are something to fear, which further adds glory to the King of France as a warrior king. The soldiers of Spain feared France, and this is shown through this figure’s use of the Expression *Terror*.

²⁷⁹ Le Brun, 12.

The last Expression to be discussed is the Expression *Motion of Pain*. *Motion of Pain* can be seen in *L’Espagne défaite*, in a soldier in the background.²⁸⁰ This soldier is directly behind the previously discussed soldier (Figure 47). With this Expression of bodily pain the viewer’s eye is drawn to the soldier’s deeply furrowed brow and tightly closed mouth, which can also be seen in the drawing (Figure 48). In the description of this Expression Le Brun mentions that the pain expressed is dependent on the level of bodily pain experienced by the physical body, he explains “But if the Sorrow be caused by and Bodily Pain, and that this Pain be sharp, all the Motions of the Visage will appear Sharp...”²⁸¹ In this instance the soldier is experiencing bodily pain from *Sorrow* through the defeat of war, which is seen in the figure’s facial features.

The defeat by France is so overpowering to Spain that this soldier is in physical pain. The pain on this figure’s face further emphasizes the power and strength of France’s army and king. It could be argued that *L’Espagne défaite* is one of the most powerful compositions in the two salons because of the specific and varied use of Expression. The use of Expression is a powerful portrayal of the glory of the king and the power of France.

The Expressions in the salons help to tell the narrative. The Expressions are often as complicated as the narrative. Each figure can be analyzed with iconography, but the Expressions add further detail to the figure. Expressions have many levels, which should be recognized by the viewer, as the viewer deciphers the Expressions to learn of the glory of the King and the good fortunes and power of France. In these significant places in the Château de Versailles Le Brun painted his Expressions in the salons to reach his goal, as painter to the king, to glorify the King. Without the Expressions’ drama, narrative, and meaning would be lost from the salons.

²⁸⁰ Translated from “Douleur Egüe”

²⁸¹ Le Brun, 24.

CONCLUSION

Le Brun, as Chief Painter to the King, painted the glory of France and her King. The Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix, as they bracket the Suite of Power, are a testament to this practice. The salons portray a narrative, as Louis wanted, of war and peace, a peace that was a gift to Europe from France. The Expressions Le Brun lectured about in his *Conférence sur l'Expression* to the Academy ca. 1668 are central to the compositions of the ceiling paintings in the salons in the goal of promoting the monarchy. His salons use the Expressions, a new system he established through the culmination of his inspiration from Poussin and Descartes. Le Brun taught his assistants his system for facial Expression, as the Expressions can be seen in the salons, which were likely executed by his assistants. It was a system of Expressions that followed in the national spirit of France and portrays the dramatic narrative to the viewer. Although Sir Ernst Hans Josef Gombrich argued that essentially Le Brun had created a “dial theory” which charted the body and face like a clock dial, he seems to have misunderstood Le Brun’s system for Expression, for it is far more complicated than that.²⁸²

Le Brun’s system of expression is not simplistic, but rather synthesizes complex theories. Ross’ assumption that Le Brun’s are Expressions are inaccurate portrayals of Expression because they do not consider age, race, sex, or temperament in his *Conference* is inaccurate. What she neglects to mention is that Le Brun’s Expressions are used for allegorical figures. The present study contends, for the first time, in the Le Brun literature, that the Expressions themselves are a form of allegory. For instance, a figure may be expressing the Expression of “Fear;” but the figure is not expressing fear to that specific person at that particular moment; that figure is *Fear*. The figure is portraying fear to the viewer. Expression was so important to Le Brun he believed

²⁸² Montagu, “*The Expression of the Passions*,” 18.

that every artist needed to include Expression, and so he catalogued his Expressions in the lecture to the Academy recorded by André Félibien.

Le Brun painted the salons in his duty as Louis' chief painter. F. L. Carsten writes, "The duty of the arts was the glorification of Louis XIV, and the Academies were entrusted with the execution of this task."²⁸³ Each artist is not individual, but should "serve the state." While an artist may have his or her own ideas and theories, such as Le Brun's Expressions, all working artists should have the goal of serving Louis and glorifying his image as king. Carsten argues:

To be sure, classicism- a rational style that can easily be taught and learned, a style that permits no vagaries and imposes conformity- may be the most adequate artistic expression for a rigorously centralized absolutism. On the other hand, grandeur, ceremonial solemnity, sublimity, and exaltation had a special place in the lives of the monarch and the court as an artistic vehicle for such needs the Baroque style was ready at hand.²⁸⁴

The Expressions were part of this Baroque style. They evoke the drama and narrative of the style of the French Baroque. Carsten writes further:

The state organized the production of art as an integral part of the system of absolutism which permeated every sphere of society, and which tried to regulate everything from above. In France the culture of the Baroque became almost a prerogative of the court, which laid down the principles guiding the arts.²⁸⁵

Le Brun painted in the style that was appropriate for court. However, he also painted with his Expressions, which are unique to him. Le Brun used his Expressions in the Château de Versailles to further the *gloire* of King Louis XIV.

Le Brun's system for facial Expression is more than just a system for Expression. Each Expression serves as an allegory on its own. The use of Expression in the Suite of Power makes

²⁸³ F. L. Carsten, ed. *The Ascendancy of France, 1648-88* (Cambridge: University Press, 1961), 5.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

the figures more effective in conveying the power of Louis XIV/France to the viewer. The salons were composed to bracket the Galerie des Glaces in the Suite of Power, and are perhaps Le Brun's ultimate and supreme support and promotion of royal authority, conveyed through the Expressions. While Le Brun's Expressions may at first only appear to be a formula for facial features, they are so much more. His Expressions are allegories that rest on the shoulders of the figures which decorate the ceilings in the Salon de la Guerre and the Salon de la Paix in the Suite of Power of the palace, that stand for the glory of the absolute monarch and the most splendid country in the world.

FIGURES: **Figure 1:**

The Penitent Magdalen
Charles Le Brun, c. 1650s
Musée du Louvre

Image Source: Montagu, Jennifer. *The Expression of the Passions : The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence Sur l'Expression Générale Et Particulière*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Figure 2:

The Queen of Persia at the Feet of Alexander

Charles Le Brun, 1660-1661

Château de Versailles

Image Source: Montagu, Jennifer. *The Expression of the Passions : The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence Sur l'Expression Générale Et Particulière*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Figure 3:
La France foudroyant ses ennemis
Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686
Salon de la Guerre
Image Source: Author's photography

Figure 4:

L'Espagne défaite

Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686

Salon de la Guerre

Image Source: Milovanovic, Nicolas.

“Catalogue iconographique” *Versailles, la galerie des Glaces*,
<http://www.galeriedesglaces-versailles.fr/html/11/collection/c38.html>

Figure 5:

L'Allemagne défaite

Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686

Salon de la Guerre

Image Source: Milovanovic, Nicolas.

“Catalogue iconographique” *Versailles, la galerie des Glaces*,
<http://www.galeriedesglaces-versailles.fr/html/11/collection/c39.html>

Figure 6:

La Hollande défaite

Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686

Salon de la Guerre

Image Source: Milovanovic, Nicolas.

“Catalogue iconographique” *Versailles, la galerie des Glaces*,
<http://www.galeriedesglaces-versailles.fr/html/11/collection/c40.html>

Figure 7:

Bellone en fureur

Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686

Salon de la Guerre

Image Source: Milovanovic, Nicolas.

“Catalogue iconographique” *Versailles, la galerie des Glaces*,
<http://www.galeriedesglaces-versailles.fr/html/11/collection/c41.html>

Figure 8:

Victory for Sinzheim Bridge

Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686

Salon de la Guerre

Image Source: Photograph by author

Luxembourg (Figure 10), and Fribourg (Figure 11)

Figure 9:
Victory for Strasbourg
Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686
Salon de la Guerre
Image Source: Photographed by Author

Figure 10:
Victory for Luxembourg
Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686
Salon de la Guerre
Image Source: Photographed by Author

Figure 11:
Victory for Fribourg
Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686
Salon de la Guerre
Image Source: Photographed by Author

Figure 12:

La France donne la paix à l'Europe

Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686

Salon de la Paix

Image Source: Milovanovic, Nicolas.

“Catalogue iconographique” *Versailles, la galerie des Glaces*,
<http://www.galeriedesglaces-versailles.fr/html/11/collection/c42.html>

Figure 13:

L'Espagne accepte la paix

Charles Le Brun

Salon de la Paix, 1685-1686

Image Source: Milovanovic, Nicolas.

“Catalogue iconographique” *Versailles, la galerie des Glaces*,
<http://www.galeriedesglaces-versailles.fr/html/11/collection/c43.html>

Figure 14:

L'Allemagne accepte la paix

Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686

Salon de la Paix

Image Source: Milovanovic, Nicolas.

“Catalogue iconographique” *Versailles, la galerie des Glaces*,
<http://www.galeriedesglaces-versailles.fr/html/11/collection/c45.html>

Figure 15:

La Hollande accepte la paix

Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686

Salon de la Paix

Image Source: Milovanovic, Nicolas.

“Catalogue iconographique” *Versailles, la galerie des Glaces*,

<http://www.galeriedesglaces-versailles.fr/html/11/collection/c46.html>

Figure 16:

L'Europe chrétienne en paix

Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686

Salon de la Paix

Image Source: Milovanovic, Nicolas.

“Catalogue iconographique” *Versailles, la galerie des Glaces*,

<http://www.galeriedesglaces-versailles.fr/html/11/collection/c44.html>

Figure 17:
 Plan of Suite of Power
 Plan de la Grande Galerie de Versailles and les salons
 School of Le Brun
 Circa 1678
 Pen and ink on paper
 © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY

Figure 18:

Plan of the Grand Appartement du Roi

Image Source: Lemoine, Pierre. *Versailles and Trianon: Guide to the Museum and National Domain of Versailles and Trianon*. Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 2002, 28.

Figure 19:

“Les conversations nouvelles de Mademoiselle de Scudéry”

Sébastien Le Clerc

Engraving, 1684

Image Source: Saule, Béatrix. "The Hall of Mirrors During Louis XIV's Reign: From the Ordinary to the Extraordinary." In *The Hall of Mirrors: History & Restoration*, 56. Dijon: Éditions Faton, 2007.

Figure 20:

Excuses Presented to Louis XIV by the Doge of Genoa, 15 May 1685

Claude Guy Hallé

Image Source: Saule, Béatrix. "The Hall of Mirrors During Louis XIV's Reign: From the Ordinary to the Extraordinary." In *The Hall of Mirrors: History & Restoration*, 64. Dijon: Éditions Faton, 2007.

Figure 21:

Detail of *Excuses presented to Louis XIV by the Doge of Genoa, 15 May 1685*

Claude Guy Hallé

Image Source: Saule, Béatrix. "The Hall of Mirrors During Louis XIV's Reign: From the Ordinary to the Extraordinary." In *The Hall of Mirrors: History & Restoration*, 65. Dijon: Éditions Faton, 2007.

Figure 22:

The Hall of Mirrors with the throne and silver furnishing installed for the audience of the Ambassadors of Siam in 1686

Jean Dolivar

Engraving

Image Source: Saule, Béatrix. "The Hall of Mirrors During Louis XIV's Reign: From the Ordinary to the Extraordinary." In *The Hall of Mirrors: History & Restoration*, 66. Dijon: Éditions Faton, 2007.

Figure 23:

Audience granted by Louis XIV to the Ambassador of Siam in 1686

Attributed for Charles Le Brun

Drawing

Image Source: Saule, Béatrix. "The Hall of Mirrors During Louis XIV's Reign: From the Ordinary to the Extraordinary." In *The Hall of Mirrors: History & Restoration*, 80. Dijon: Éditions Faton, 2007.

Figure 24:

Hollande accepte la paix et se détache de l'Allemagne et de l'Espagne

Charles Le Brun, 1678

Image Source: Milovanovic, Nicolas.

“Catalogue iconographique” *Versailles, la galerie des Glaces*,
<http://www.galeriedesglaces-versailles.fr/html/11/collection/c42.html>

Figure 25:

Model of the escalier des Ambassadeurs

Image Source: Lemoine, Pierre. *Versailles and Trianon: Guide to the Museum and National Domain of Versailles and Trianon*. Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 2002, 42.

Figure: 26

Plan of the Grand Appartement de la Reine

Image Source: Lemoine, Pierre. *Versailles and Trianon: Guide to the Museum and National Domain of Versailles and Trianon*. Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 2002, 28.

Figure: 27

The escalier de la Reine

Image Source: Lemoine, Pierre. *Versailles and Trianon: Guide to the Museum and National Domain of Versailles and Trianon*. Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 2002, 72.

Figure 28:
Detail of *L'Espagne accepte la paix*
Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686
Salon de la Paix
Image Source: Photographed by a

Figure 29:
Detail of *La Hollande accepte la paix*
Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686
Salon de la Paix
Image Source: Photographed by Author

Figure 30:
Veneration

Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686

Image Source: Le Brun, Charles. *A Conference Holden in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture*. Translated by J. Smith. 1701 Reprint, London: Gale ECCO, May 28, 2010, 5.

Figure 31:
Detail of *L'Allemagne défaite*
Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686
Salon de la Guerre
Image Source: Photographed by Author

Figure 32:

Scorn

Charles Le Brun

Image Source: Le Brun, Charles. *A Conference Holden in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture*. Translated by J. Smith. 1701 Reprint, London: Gale ECCO, May 28, 2010, 9.

Figure 33:
Detail of *La France foudroyant ses ennemis*
Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686
Salon de la Guerre
Image Source: Photographed by Author

Figure 34:
Desire

Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686

Image Source: Le Brun, Charles. *A Conference Holden in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture*. Translated by J. Smith. 1701 Reprint, London: Gale ECCO, May 28, 2010, 17.

Figure 35:
Detail of *Bellone en fureu*
Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686
Salon de la Guerre
Image Source: Photographed by Author

Figure 36:

Fear

Charles Le Brun

Image Source: Le Brun, Charles. *A Conference Holden in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture*. Translated by J. Smith. 1701 Reprint, London: Gale ECCO, May 28, 2010, 19.

Figure 37:
Detail of *La France foudroyant ses ennemis*
Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686
Salon de la Guerre
Image Source: Photographed by Author

Figure 38:

Hope

Charles Le Brun

Image Source: Le Brun, Charles. *A Conference Holden in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture*. Translated by J. Smith. 1701 Reprint, London: Gale ECCO, May 28, 2010, 16.

Figure 39:
Detail of *L'Espagne défaite*
Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686
Salon de la Guerre
Image Source: Photographed by Author

Figure 40:

Sorrow

Charles Le Brun

Image Source: Le Brun, Charles. *A Conference Holden in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture*. Translated by J. Smith. 1701 Reprint, London: Gale ECCO, May 28, 2010, 23.

Figure 41:
Detail of *Bellone en fureur*
Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686
Salon de la Guerre
Image Source: Photographed by Author

Figure 42:
Jealousy

Charles Le Brun

Image Source: Le Brun, Charles. *A Conference Holden in the Royal Academy of Painting and*

Figure 43:
Detail of *La France donne la paix à l'Europe*
Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686
Salon de la Paix
Image Source: Photographed by Author

Figure 44:
Esteem

Charles Le Brun

Image Source: Le Brun, Charles. *A Conference Holden in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture*. Translated by J. Smith. 1701 Reprint, London: Gale ECCO, May 28, 2010, 3.

Figure 45:
Detail of *L'Espagne défaite*
Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686
Salon de la Paix
Image Source: Photographed by Author

Figure 46:
Terror

Charles Le Brun

Image Source: Le Brun, Charles. *A Conference Holden in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture*. Translated by J. Smith. 1701 Reprint, London: Gale ECCO, May 28, 2010, 10.

Figure 47:
Detail of *L'Espagne défaite*
Charles Le Brun, 1685-1686
Salon de la Guerre
Image Source: Photographed by Author

Figure 48:

Motion of Pain

Charles Le Brun

Image Source: Le Brun, Charles. *A Conference Holden in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture*. Translated by J. Smith. 1701 Reprint, London: Gale ECCO, May 28, 2010, 33.

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